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ABSTRACT

This book provides biographical profiles of 16 leaders of modern Africa of interest to readers ages 9 and above and was created to appeal to young readers in a format they can enjoy reading and easily understand. Biographies were prepared after extensive research, and this volume contains a name index, a general index, a place of birth index, and a birthday index. Each entry provides at least one picture of the individual profiled, and bold-faced rubrics lead the reader to information on birth, youth, early memories, education, first jobs, marriage and family, career highlights, memorable experiences, hobbies, and honors and awards. All of the entries end with a list of highly accessible sources designed to lead the student to further reading on the individual. African leaders featured in the book are: Mohammed Farah Aidid (Obituary) (1930?-1996); Idi Amin (1925?-); Hastings Kamuzu Banda (1898?-); Haile Selassie (1892-1975); Hassan II (1929-); Kenneth Kaunda (1924-); Jomo Kenyatta (1891?-1978); Winnie Mandela (1934-); Mobutu Sese Seko (1930-); Robert Mugabe (1924-); Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972); Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-); Anwar Sadat (1918-1981); Jonas Savimbi (1934-); Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-); and William V. S. Tubman (1895-1971). (BT)

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World Leaders Series: Modern African Leaders. Volume 2 .

Harris, Laurie Lanzen, Ed.
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Biography Today

Profiles of People of Interest to Young Readers

Modern African Leaders

Idi Amin
Hastings Kamuzu Banda
Haile Selassie
Hassan II
Kenneth Kaunda
Jomo Kenyatta
Julius Kambarage Nyerere
Jonas Savimbi
William V. S. Tubman
Léopold Sédar Senghor

3

Biography Today

Profiles of People of Interest to Young Readers

World Leaders Series: Modern African Leaders

Vol.2
1997

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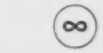

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Preface

Welcome to the second volume of the new **Biography Today World Leaders Series**. We are publishing this new series in response to the growing number of suggestions from our readers, who want more coverage of more people in *Biography Today*. Several new volumes, covering **Authors, Artists, Scientists and Inventors, Sports Figures, and World Leaders,** will be appearing in 1997. Each of these hardcover volumes will be 200 pages in length and cover approximately 15 individuals of interest to readers aged 9 and above. The length and format of the entries will be like those found in the regular issues of *Biography Today*, but there will be **no** duplication between the regular series and the special subject volumes.

We had originally planned to produce a Leaders of the World volume on Kings and Queens of Africa. However, as we researched the volume, it became clear that there was not enough material to adequately cover people of ancient times. Therefore, the scope of the volume changed from ancient African leaders to those of the modern era.

The Plan of the Work

As with the regular issues of *Biography Today*, this special subject volume on **Modern African Leaders** was especially created to appeal to young readers in a format they can enjoy reading and readily understand. Each volume contains alphabetically arranged sketches. Each entry provides at least one picture of the individual profiled, and bold-faced rubrics lead the reader to information on birth, youth, early memories, education, first jobs, marriage and family, career highlights, memorable experiences, hobbies, and honors and awards. Each of the entries ends with a list of easily accessible sources designed to lead the student to further reading on the individual and a current address. Obituary entries are also included, written to provide a perspective on the individual's entire career. Obituaries are clearly marked in both the table of contents and at the beginning of the entry.

Biographies are prepared by Omnigraphics editors after extensive research, utilizing the most current materials available. Those sources that are generally available to students appear in the list of further reading at the end of the sketch.

Indexes

To provide easy access to entries, each issue of the regular *Biography Today* series and each volume of the Special Subject Series contain a Name Index, General Index covering occupations, organizations, and ethnic and minority origins, Places of Birth Index, and a Birthday Index. These indexes cumulate with each succeeding volume or issue. Each of the Special Subject Volumes will be indexed as part of these cumulative indexes, so that readers can locate information on all individuals covered in either the regular or the special volumes.

Our Advisors

This new member of the *Biography Today* family of publications was reviewed by an Advisory Board comprised of librarians, children's literature specialists, and reading instructors so that we could make sure that the concept of this publication—to provide a readable and accessible biographical magazine for young readers—was on target. They evaluated the title as it developed, and their suggestions have proved invaluable. Any errors, however, are ours alone. We'd like to list the Advisory Board members, and to thank them for their efforts.

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Our Advisory Board stressed to us that we should not shy away from controversial or unconventional people in our profiles, and we have tried to follow their advice. The Advisory Board also mentioned that the sketches might be useful in reluctant reader and adult literacy programs, and we would value any comments librarians might have about the suitability of our magazine for those purposes.

Your Comments Are Welcome

Our goal is to be accurate and up-to-date, to give young readers information they can learn from and enjoy. Now we want to know what you think. Take a look at this issue of *Biography Today*, on approval. Write or call me with your comments. We want to provide an excellent source of biographical information for young people. Let us know how you think we're doing.

And here's a special incentive: review our list of people to appear in upcoming issues. Use the bind-in card to list other people you want to see in *Biography Today*. If we include someone you suggest, your library wins a free issue, with our thanks. Please see the bind-in card for details.

Laurie Harris
Executive Editor, *Biography Today*

OBITUARY

Mohammed Farah Aidid 1930?-1996

Warlord of Somalia
Leader of Habr Gedir Clan in Somalia

BIRTH

Mohammed Farah Hassan Aidid (pronounced ah-DEED; also sometimes spelled "Aideed") was born around 1930 somewhere in Somalia's rugged back country. As an adult, though, he adopted December 15, 1934, as his "official" birthday. His father, Farah Hassan, and mother, Fatuma Salah, were both members of a nomadic clan known as the Habr Gedir, which was a sub-

clan of Somalia's largest tribal group, the Hawiye. He was the fifth of 13 children in the family.

Scholars note that the name "Aidid," by which the future warlord came to be known, was actually a nickname. All Somali children are given nicknames at a young age, and these names often end up being the names by which they are primarily known. In his case, his mother named him "Aidid" (which means "rejector of insults" or "he who refuses to be humiliated") after someone in his parents' clan commented that his skin was darker than that of his mother.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

12.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

HISTORY OF SOMALIA

The country in which Aidid grew up has had a complex and often bloody history. Somalia, which is located midway down the east coast of Africa, was first settled by Arabs and Persians more than 1,000 years ago. It is believed that the people of Somalia converted to the religion of Islam sometime in the 11th or 12th century. The Somalian natives ruled themselves for much of the next several centuries, but by the latter part of the 1800s, European powers had assumed a significant amount of influence in the region. In 1887 Great Britain took control of a good portion of northern Somalia. They named this territory British Somaliland. In the meantime, Italy took control of much of the region's coastline. During the next few decades they added land from the south to this territory, which they called Italian Somaliland. Some Somali natives fought against these European interlopers, but they were unable to force them to withdraw.

In 1936 Italy attacked and took control of much of Ethiopia, Somalia's neighbor to the west. Ethiopia—which included a sizable number of Somali-speaking tribes—was quickly merged with Italian Somaliland into a region called Italian East Africa. In 1939 World War II erupted across Europe. Italy joined with Germany and Japan, who were seeking to expand their power and territory through force. These nations were opposed by the Allies—Great Britain, France, and several other European nations (the United States joined the Allies in 1941).

In 1940 Italy seized British Somaliland, but by the end of the following year Allied forces had driven Italy completely out of eastern Africa. Ethiopia's freedom was subsequently restored, but the land they were given included a

region—called Ogaden—which held a large Somali population. Years later, disputes over control of the Ogaden region triggered war between Ethiopia and Somalia.

After World War II ended, arrangements were made to give control of Italian Somaliland back to Italy, but only for a period of 10 years. The British were also scheduled to relinquish control of British Somaliland. Thus, both Italy and Great Britain were supposed to grant the Somali peoples of both areas their independence. Both countries did so in the summer of 1960, and the two territories quickly united together to form the nation of Somalia.

YOUTH

Aidid grew up during this period of colonial rule. As a youngster, he was taught how to care for the camels, sheep, and goats that his family owned and depended on for survival. Some people say that when he was 10 years old, he and his uncle tracked a leopard down and killed it with clubs, selling its rich coat for a lot of money. Skeptics, though, have noted that a few other African leaders have told nearly identical stories about themselves; they suggest that this amazing story is a fabrication that many leaders have told to impress others.

In any event, people who knew Aidid when he was a boy recall him as a brave and independent sort. When he was 11 or 12 years old, he was sent on a long journey into Ogaden to study the Koran (the Islamic Holy Book). He spent much of the next two years studying Islamic teachings with Muslim tutors. When he returned to Somalia, he was determined to continue his education, and an older brother subsequently served as his teacher for a while. He also found work at a British military camp in Mogadishu, Somalia's capital city, and his time there gave him an opportunity to learn English.

EDUCATION

In August 1950 Aidid enlisted in the Italian Gendarmerie, the police force that enforced the law in Italian Somaliland. He was sent to Rome, Italy, for training. Once in Rome he was educated not only about police and military matters, but also in other subjects, such as Italian. Aidid's time in Rome provided him with his first real classroom experiences. After concluding his course work he returned to Mogadishu, where he was made an officer in the city's police force.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Aidid rose rapidly through the ranks of the police department. By 1958 he had been named to succeed Mohammad Siyad Barre as the city's police chief when Barre went on to take another military position. Two years later Somalia

gained its independence, and Aidid was made an officer in the country's newly created army. The nation quickly allied itself with the powerful Soviet Union, and in 1963 Aidid was sent to the U.S.S.R. for three years of officer training at the Frunze Academy. "The military knowledge [I gained there] was beautiful," Aidid later said, although he expressed disgust with the Soviet political system, "which denied freedom of speech and individual property and rights."

Despite its alliance with the Soviets, though, the first few years of independence proved very difficult for Somalia. The country's leaders did not understand how to build a stable economy, and their determination to expand Somalia's territory made them unpopular with neighboring countries. In 1964 Somalia went to war with Ethiopia in an unsuccessful effort to wrest the Ogaden region from Ethiopian control. Five years later, Mohammad Siyad Barre took control of the Somali government in a coup. During his rule, which was corrupt and brutal, the country's land, banks, businesses, schools, and hospitals were placed under the control of the government. Barre's forces also made repeated attempts to take Ogaden from Ethiopia, but the Ethiopians fought them off each time.

Aidid suffered greatly after Barre came to power. Barre asked Aidid to be his chief of staff soon after taking control of Somalia, but within a matter of months Aidid fell into disfavor. Barre had him arrested and put in prison without any trial. Aidid remained there for the next six years, and he spent most of his prison term in solitary confinement. Some people believe that Aidid's stay in prison had a terrible impact on him. They insist that by the time he was finally released in 1975, his hatred for Barre was so great that it had poisoned his mind forever.

Aidid was determined to gain vengeance on Barre, but he was forced to wait, for Barre was still very powerful. Aidid later noted that in the years following his release, "two or three cars followed me wherever I went." But in 1978 Barre became so concerned about a disastrous attempt to invade Ethiopia that he brought Aidid back into the government to supervise Somalia's retreat. Barre then made Aidid his chief military advisor, but he never really trusted him—and for good reason, since behind Aidid's surface allegiance was a man who was determined to destroy the dictator.

In 1984 Barre sent Aidid to India to serve as Somalia's ambassador to that country. Aidid lived in India's capital, New Delhi, for the next five years. But by 1989 Barre's hold on power had deteriorated, and various Somali groups were jockeying to succeed him. Violence broke out all across the nation, and thousands of innocent civilians were killed in the ensuing struggle for control. Aidid quickly returned to his homeland, where he took a leadership position in the United Somali Congress (USC), a rebel group that had been formed several months before by members of the Hawiye tribe. In 1991 Barre's regime was finally toppled by the USC, to Aidid's great satisfaction. "Somalia was ruined by one of the most brutal dictators," he said about Barre. "Some he kept for 20 years, in isolation. A hundred a night were dragged from their houses and executed. [Barre] himself said to me, 'I got power by the gun and I will keep it until I am removed by the gun, and I will not leave behind me people or resources. I will destroy everything—just like Hitler."

But the end of Barre's reign did not mean an end to violence in Somalia. No one group proved strong enough to take control of the nation, and a terrible outbreak of violence swept across the country as various Somali factions fought each other for control of different areas, from large cities and provinces to small towns. Observers pointed out that many of these factions were made up of clans who had long been rivals with one another. Aidid was one of the most powerful of these clan leaders, and as events unfolded over the next few years he would become easily the best-known.

But even after Barre's flight from the capital (he eventually ended up living in Nigeria), the United Somali Congress proved unable to take control of the country. Other clans seized control of various sections of Somalia, and the USC itself fell apart as rival sub-clans within its ranks started attacking one

another. The widespread violence made it impossible for Somalia's farmers to tend their crops, and many people began to go hungry. Other Somali citizens had their homes and villages destroyed in the battles between the many clans that were roaming across the country, and soon a refugee crisis was brewing as well.

By December 1991 international humanitarian agencies were warning that the violence and lawlessness that had consumed much of Somalia could cause widespread famine. Over the next few months these agencies tried to get food in, but the warring factions made it very difficult to deliver such aid. The situation became particularly grim in Mogadishu, where Aidid and another clan leader, self-proclaimed President Ali Mahdi Mohamed, were battling for control of the capital. Both men had been leaders of the USC, but after the fall of Barre they had split into two armed camps—Aidid led the Habr Gedir sub-clan of the Hawiye, while Ali Mahdi led the Abgal, another sub-clan of the Hawiye. As these two groups warred against one another for possession of Mogadishu, they reduced much of the capital to rubble, killing thousands of people in the process.

In September 1992 the United Nations Security Council voted to provide 3,000 soldiers—whom they called "peacekeepers"—to help protect the relief workers in Somalia, who were sent to distribute food and provide medical care. These soldiers included troops from several different nations, including the United States. By December of that year the first American troops had arrived in Mogadishu. Aidid was initially happy to see the troops; indeed, since he controlled the capital's airport, the United Nations commanders had negotiated with him for permission to land their forces. But by early 1993, Aidid's happiness had turned to anger. He felt that the UN military leaders were not paying enough attention to him. He also was outraged when the peacekeepers tried to disarm the Somali population and organize the many clan leaders into a governing committee. He saw both efforts as threats to his power. "Aidid is not a man who wants to share power with anybody," said Rakiya Omaar, the leader of the African Rights humanitarian organization. "If he believes he can grab it, he'll grab it. And he'll be ruthless in the way he does it."

In June 1993 Aidid's forces ambushed a group of Pakistani peacekeepers who had been sent to shut down the radio station he controlled. They killed 24 peacekeepers and wounded 56 others in the attack, which stunned the United Nations and the world. An arrest warrant was issued for Aidid, but the UN soldiers were unable to find him. In October 1993 a group of American peacekeepers launched an offensive against a building where they thought Aidid might have been hiding, but the operation proved disastrous. Eighteen U.S. soldiers were killed, and American television audiences were horrified by film footage that showed the body of an American soldier being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, surrounded by cheering Somalis.

Public support for the mission in Somalia quickly collapsed in America. The U.S. government subsequently sped up their withdrawal, and by the spring of 1994 the last American soldiers had left the country. Within a year the remainder of the UN troops had departed, too, well ahead of schedule. The United Nations left Somalia in chaos, the same state that the country had been in when the peacekeepers first arrived. "Everything has been destroyed," admitted one Aidid aide. "After 30 years of independence, it has come to this."

International observers were saddened by the whole affair. They blamed the failure of the mission partly on Aidid and his determination to rule Somalia. As one UN official said, "anyone who has spent more than 10 minutes with Aidid gets the same story about how he alone defeated Siyad Barre, which is baloney. But he believes it. He's obsessed with it. He believes he is destined to run Somalia, and is willing to destroy the country to make it happen."

Aidid's successful assault against the U.S. soldiers, along with his ability to elude his pursuers, actually gave him added influence among the Somali people. As *Newsweek* commented, "the 15-month U.S. mission in Somalia may not have accomplished much else, but it transformed Aidid from an obscure warlord into an international figure." But even after the departure of the peacekeeping force, he was unable to take control of Mogadishu, let alone the rest of Somalia. The other clan leaders refused to surrender their territory, so violent confrontations continued to flare all across the country.

In June 1995 Aidid was joined in Somalia by one of his sons, Hussein Mohammed Farah. Years before, he had gone to live in the United States with his mother, who had been divorced from Aidid. Farah eventually became a U.S. Marine, and was even stationed in Somalia for a brief time in late 1992. In 1995, though, he left the United States to join his father.

In late July 1996, Aidid was shot in a gun battle for control of a disputed section of Mogadishu. He died from his wounds on August 1. People in Somalia hoped that Aidid's death might open the way for new peace negotiations among the warring clans, for he had always been regarded as the most uncompromising of the warlords. Their hope quickly turned to disappointment, though.

Shortly after Aidid's death, the leaders of the Habr Gedir appointed Farah to take his place. Since taking power, Farah has shown little willingness to negotiate with the other clan leaders, and he has reportedly boasted that the 1993 slayings of the American soldiers at the hands of his father marked a high point in Somali history. Such talk saddened both Somalis and international observers, for it seemed to indicate that the country would continue to be wracked by violence in the coming years.

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MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Most sources indicate that Aidid had two wives (although the *Times of London* indicated that he married three times) and a total of 14 children with a number of women. He married his first wife, Asli Dhubat, in the early 1950s; she is mother to Hussein Mohamed Farah and five other of Aidid's children. They eventually divorced. In 1984 Aidid secretly married Khadiga Gurhan. She and their four children moved to Canada in 1989, when Aidid left his ambassador's post in India and returned to Somalia. Despite Aidid's reputed wealth, Gurhan and the children collected welfare while in Canada. She insisted that the family needed the assistance, but critics noted that she had no difficulty finding the necessary money to make a number of trips to visit her husband in Somalia. This angered many Canadians, and in 1994 she was stripped of her welfare benefits. She subsequently indicated that she intended to apply for Canadian citizenship.

FURTHER READING

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Washington Post, Dec. 26, 1993, p.A41

Idi Amin 1925?-

Ugandan Military Leader
Former President of Uganda

BIRTH

Idi Amin Dada Oumee (Ee-dee ah-MEEN DAH-dah Oo-mee) was born about 1925, probably in the village of Koboko, in the northwestern part of Uganda. The exact date and place of his birth is not known. He was born into a small Islamic tribe known as the Kakwa. His father was a farmer and his mother was a spiritualist and herbalist. Amin had at least one sister—Mary.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded

into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

UGANDAN HISTORY

Uganda is a country in the eastern part of the continent of Africa. People have lived in what is now Uganda for thousands of years, and by 100 A.D. they had begun farming and using iron. More than 1,000 years later, in the 1300s, the people in Uganda organized into several independent kingdoms, each of which was headed by a chief. The most important and powerful kingdoms were Bunyoro-Kitara and Buganda.

In the mid-1800s British missionaries and explorers began arriving in Uganda. In 1894, Great Britain made Uganda a protectorate (a dependent province within the British Empire). For the next several decades, Uganda was ruled by Britain, with very few Africans having any say in the country's government. Africans did assist the British in wartime, particularly during World War II in the early 1940s. In fact, Idi Amin fought for the British as part of the Ugandan army during this period. During British rule Uganda became known as "the jewel of East Africa." Compared to neighboring countries, Uganda had a strong economy and a relatively peaceful political history.

In the mid-1950s, Ugandans began to press for complete independence from Britain. The tribal kingdoms were still in existence at that time, and while they wanted independence from Britain, they did not necessarily want to join together to form one country. In particular, Buganda—the largest and most powerful of the kingdoms—was more interested in forming its own nation rather than being part of a unified Uganda.

Meanwhile, agriculture continued to play a large role in the economy, with coffee and cotton becoming the most important crops. African Ugandans produced the majority of the country's crops, and Idi Amin's family was among these small landowners.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

As was typical of many Ugandans, Amin spent much of his youth working in his family's fields and tending their goats and sheep. He was raised primarily by his mother. At one point during his childhood, he lived in the town of Bombo. Bombo is in southern Uganda and was the center of the Buganda kingdom. Amin met many members of this tribe, gaining friends who would

later help him in his attempt to become leader of the nation. Amin had very little formal education. He did not go to school very often as a young boy, and he stopped going completely after the fourth grade.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Military Career

Amin spent the first 25 years of his adult life in the Ugandan army. He enlisted around 1943 when he was approximately 18 years old, during the last stages of World War II. He initially served as a rifleman in the King's African Rifles, which was a division of the British colonial army. His first major battle experience came almost immediately upon enlisting, when he fought in Burma. The war ended in 1945.

During the next 10 years, Amin fought in tribal conflicts in Uganda and Kenya. He honed his military skill and was promoted several times, attaining the rank of corporal in 1949 and sergeant major in the 1950s. In this period, Amin gained a reputation as a feared and ruthless officer who showed no reservations about committing atrocities, such as torturing prisoners during brutal interrogation sessions. He even admitted that he had eaten the flesh of some of his victims. His actions were so extreme that he was almost forced to leave the army on several occasions. However, he always managed to retain his job and his rank. In about 1960, Amin was promoted to the rank of effendi. This was the highest rank available for an African serving in the British Empire, and very few Ugandans reached that position.

Ugandan Independence

While Amin was rising through the military ranks, a growing number of Ugandans were pushing for independence from Great Britain. Uganda achieved this independence in 1962, with Milton Obote serving as the country's first prime minister. Obote and Amin became close friends, and Obote promoted Amin up the military ranks even further. In 1963 Amin became a major, and by 1964 he became a colonel and deputy commander of Uganda's army and air force. As part of his rise to the top of Uganda's military, Amin received special training in Great Britain and in Israel.

Meanwhile, Obote shared leadership of the country with Sir Edward Mutesa II. Known as "King Freddie," Mutesa was the Kabaka (king) of the Buganda kingdom. The shared leadership between Obote and Mutesa reflected important divisions in Ugandan society. The tribal kingdoms set up in the 1300s still existed, and relations between them were often strained. Mutesa was not the king of Uganda, but rather of one powerful tribal kingdom within it. Like his tribe, Mutesa would have preferred for Buganda to be a separate country. Obote, who was a member of the smaller Langi tribe, worked hard to keep

the Baganda (the name of the tribespeople in Buganda) happy and part of a unified Uganda.

Despite Obote's efforts, the divisions between the various tribes proved too great. Obote and Mutesa began to quarrel over control of the country, and Amin found himself in the middle of the fight. In 1964, Obote ordered Amin to aid rebels in the Congo, a neighboring country. During this campaign, allegations arose that Amin and Obote stole $350,000 worth of gold and ivory that was supposed to be used to buy military weapons for the Congolese rebels. In early 1966, Bugandan politicians in Uganda's legislative body, the National Assembly, called for Amin to be suspended. These politicians were backed by Mutesa.

Rather than giving in to this demand, Obote had some of the politicians arrested. Then, in February 1966, he suspended the constitution and gave Amin full control over the country's army and air force. In April, Obote announced a new constitution. The new document abolished the tribal kingdoms and gave Obote total control over the country's government. When members of the Buganda tribe rebelled, Obote ordered Amin and his troops to raid the royal palace. Several hundred Baganda were killed in the attack, and Mutesa was forced to leave the country and go into exile in London, England, where he died in 1969.

Obote and Amin remained close for a few more years. By 1970, however, Obote began to view Amin as a threat to his own power. The ouster of Mutesa in 1966 had only increased tensions among the various tribes. Because Obote did not have the support of enough of these tribes, he had little choice but to rely on the armed forces to keep power. However, Amin was in charge of the armed forces, and Obote worried that Amin might have ambitions to increase his own power. To defuse Amin's support, Obote created special police forces that reported directly to him, and he demoted Amin.

Obote's efforts were not successful. Amin kept his base of support among the lower ranks of the army. He also retained friendships among the still-powerful Baganda, despite his role in ousting Mutesa. In 1971, while Obote was out of the country on government business, Amin and his supporters staged a coup and seized control of the government. Amin may have believed that Obote was preparing to have him either arrested or killed. In any case, Amin now installed himself as leader of the country. The irony is that it was Obote who made Amin's rise to power possible, by promoting him and giving him control over the armed forces.

Amin's Presidency

After seizing power, Amin gave hints that his regime would be a kind and tolerant one. He promised to hold political elections. He also disbanded the secret police that Obote had set up, and he freed political prisoners who had

been jailed under Obote. Amin stated that "our new Republic of Uganda will be guided by a firm belief in the equality and brotherhood of man, and in peace and goodwill to all." To increase his popularity, he arranged to have the body of Mutesa brought back from London to Uganda. Once the body arrived, Amin held a lavish state funeral honoring the dead king.

Based on these early actions, Amin enjoyed fairly wide support among his country's people. However, he soon began to show a different side to his character—one that was ruthless toward his enemies and intolerant of any criticism. He became increasingly suspicious and harsh over time, until many people close to him began to believe he was insane.

Amin fired all local government officials who had been associated with Obote, and he abolished the parliament. In addition, army troops under his command began a campaign to rid the army of any soldiers from the Acholi and Langi tribes. Amin considered these groups his enemies. Henry Kyemba, who served as Amin's Minister of Health for several years, claimed that Amin's troops began killing hundreds of Acholi and Langi soldiers at a time. By 1972, between 4,000 and 5,000 soldiers reportedly had been massacred.

This reign of terror soon spread to others. One group of people that came under attack from Amin were the many people of Asian ancestry who lived in Uganda. These people had lived in Uganda for decades, enjoying a close relationship with the British rulers and gaining large influence over the country's economy. They were also given preferential treatment by the British at the expense of the country's native blacks. As a result, many black Ugandans resented the Asians. Upon Uganda's independence from Great Britain, many Asians had chosen to remain British citizens.

Believing that these Asians were "sabotaging the economy of the country," Amin demanded in 1972 that they either renounce their British citizenship and become Ugandans or leave the country. While several thousand did stay, tens of thousands left. The move was extremely popular among the country's black citizenry. However, the action deprived Uganda of much of its economic base, which eventually caused hardship for many Ugandan citizens.

Amin also made controversial decisions in the area of foreign affairs. For example, Uganda had enjoyed a long friendship with the country of Israel. During his military career, Amin himself had worked closely with Israeli officers, and he had even received military training in Israel. However, in 1972 Amin abruptly ended his country's relationship with Israel and established friendly relations with the country of Libya, a long-standing enemy of Israel. Amin may have acted for religious reasons: a devout Muslim, he shared a common faith with the people of Libya. However, he may also have acted out of financial concern, as Libya was more eager to invest money in Uganda than Israel was. Regardless of the reason, Amin followed this action by expelling

500 Israeli citizens who lived in Uganda. He gave them three days to leave the country. A few months later, Amin expressed his admiration for former German leader Adolf Hitler, whose regime killed millions of Jews during the Holocaust in World War II.

During the next few years of Amin's presidency, Uganda slipped into economic disarray and military brutality. Amin's armed forces committed terrible atrocities, raping, stealing, and killing with abandon. A *New York Times Magazine* reporter visiting the country described a state in which people were "dragged screaming from bar or cafe" and bodies of murdered citizens washed up on the shores of lakes.

Amin himself became known for his violent, unpredictable behavior. He would be gentle and friendly one moment, only to erupt into anger the next. He ordered the execution of many people, including several of his government ministers, an Anglican archbishop, and the husbands of women whom Amin wanted as mistresses. He is even reported to have murdered one of his own wives by cutting off her limbs.

In 1976, Amin was personally involved in the hijacking of a French airplane. The plane, hijacked by Palestinian terrorists, was brought to the Entebbe airport in Uganda, and the 300 people aboard — many of whom were Israelis — were held hostage for several days. Amin assisted the hijackers with the operation, helping to draft their list of demands and detaining some elderly and sick hostages who needed to be hospitalized during the incident. Most of the hostages were freed in a raid by Israeli commandos. However, one of the elderly Israelis being detained by Amin was left behind and died a few days later. Former Ugandan official Henry Kyemba claimed that Amin ordered her execution.

By the late 1970s, Amin was being criticized around the world for his acts of terror. Under his regime, as many as 300,000 people had been tortured and killed. In addition, Uganda accumulated $250 million in debt and most of its people lived in fear and poverty. Tanzania, a neighboring country, had been hostile to Amin from the beginning of his presidency. It had also become home to many Ugandan exiles, including Milton Obote. In 1978, troops from Tanzania, supported by Ugandan exiles, invaded Uganda. Fearful for his life, Amin was forced to flee the country. He went into exile, first in Libya and then in Saudi Arabia. Obote returned to Uganda and eventually served as president once again.

Today Amin lives in a spacious villa near Jedda, Saudi Arabia. Since he is a Muslim, the Saudi government took him in and provides him with a monthly allowance that enables him to live comfortably. Though Saudi guards restrict his visitors and prevent him from speaking with the press, he is allowed to move around within the city and is sometimes seen drinking coffee with

friends in a local hotel. Amin returned to Africa briefly in 1989, when he forged a passport and visited Nigeria and Zaire before he was recognized and sent back into exile. Many people in Uganda still feel the effects of Amin's bloody reign. As Alan Rake noted in *Who's Who in Africa*, "Amin presided over the collapse of Uganda's social and economic structure and passed on a legacy of corruption, cruelty and instability that continues in his unhappy country."

HOBBIES AND OTHER INTERESTS

Amin was a good athlete, and he excelled at a number of sports during his career in the army. He was a good swimmer and rugby player, but his biggest achievements came in boxing, where Amin was able to use his large size to advantage. From 1951 to 1960, Amin was the heavyweight boxing champion of Uganda.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Amin has been married at least five times. As is customary among some Muslims, Amin was married to several women at the same time. He married his first wife, Malyamu Kibedi, in 1966, although they had been in a relationship for several years by the time of the marriage. That same year, Amin took a second wife, Kay Adroa. Within the next year, Amin was married yet again, this time to a Langi tribeswoman named Nora. In 1972, Amin married his fourth wife, Medina.

In 1974, Amin simultaneously divorced his first three wives, Malyamu, Kay, and Nora. Kay died under suspicious circumstances in August of that year, and some people have speculated that Amin was involved in her murder. In the same month that Kay died, Amin was married again, this time to Sarah Kyolaba. It is not clear whether Amin has married any other women since then.

Amin is reported to have fathered more than 40 children, some by his wives and some by the many mistresses he apparently has had. A few of the younger children live with him in Saudi Arabia.

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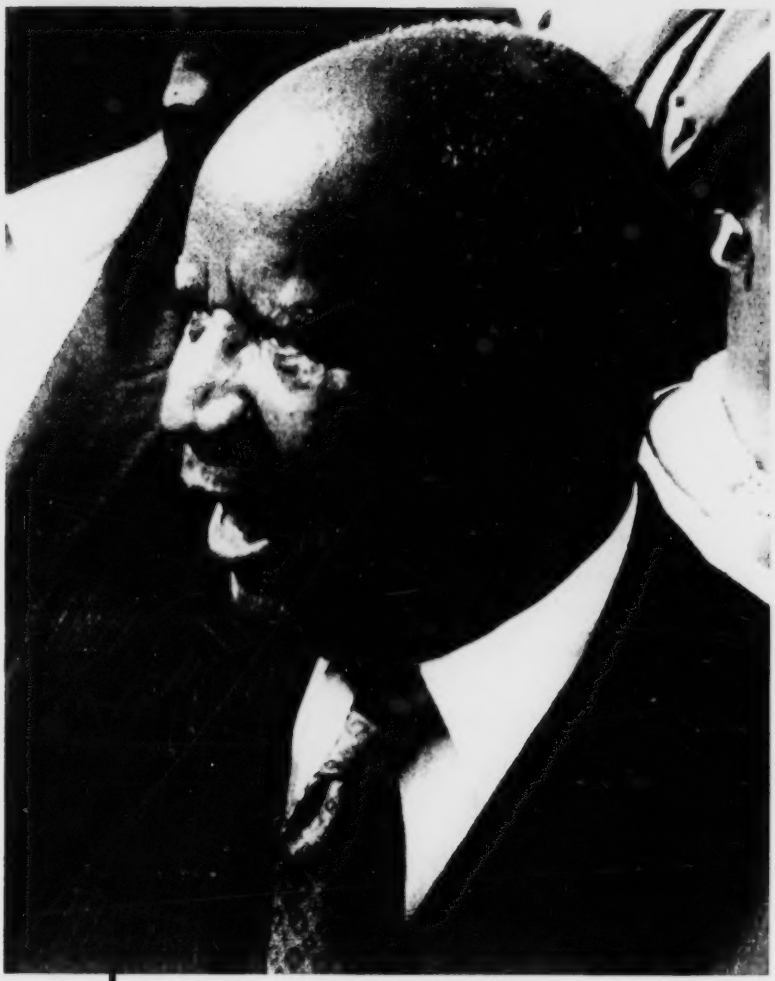
ADDRESS

No current address is available for Idi Amin.



Hastings Kamuzu Banda 1898?-

Leader of Malawi Independence Movement
Former President of Malawi

BIRTH

Kamuzu Banda was probably born in February 1898, although some sources have speculated that he may have been born in 1902, or even as late as 1906. Banda has confirmed that he is not sure when he was born, but a number of people who knew his family recall that it was around the same time as several other events that took place in 1898. His parents were Akupinganyama and Mphonongo, a poor farming couple of the Chewa tribe. They made their home in a small village now known as Chi-

wengo in the territory of Nyasaland (which later became Malawi). Banda's parents named their son Kamuzu ("little root") in recognition of the root herbs that a medicine man had given Akupinganyama to cure her supposed inability to bear children. His parents had one more child — a daughter — before their separation in 1905 and Akupinganyma's subsequent remarriage.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of

Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

HISTORY OF NYASALAND

Banda was born in an area of south-central Africa known as Nyasaland. During the 19th century, the region was home to a number of African tribes, many of whom did not get along. Violent clashes often broke out between the tribes of the region, and some tribes even forced natives from other groups into slavery. This situation changed, however, with the arrival of the British in the 1860s.

The region of Nyasaland succumbed to European colonization just as all the other regions of Africa did. By 1891—only 30 years after the first British missionary had arrived in the area—the territory had officially become a protectorate of Britain. This designation meant that Britain regarded the region as one of its territories, and so felt that it could exercise control over Nyasaland's economic, political, and religious life. Over the next several decades, native Africans of the region became increasingly angry about their political and economic powerlessness, and growing numbers of Nyasaland blacks called for independence from the white-dominated British government that had taken control of their land.

EARLY YEARS

Banda spent the first four years of his life living with his parents in a small hut made of sticks, grass, and clay. After that, though, he moved in with his maternal grandparents, a relocation that was a normal part of life among the Chewa. The tribe believed that relationships between couples of childbearing age were healthier when they were relieved of responsibility for children who had grown past infancy. A few years later, he went to live in the village's *mphala*, a communal hut where all the unmarried youth of the village lived.

As he grew older, many members of the village community helped him learn about farming and other aspects of life among the tribe.

EDUCATION

Encouraged by his uncle, Hanock Phiri, Banda started attending school in 1905, when he was about seven years old. His first school was the Livingstonia Church of Scotland School, which was operated by Scottish missionaries who wanted to teach the natives about Christianity as well as reading, arithmetic, and English. Banda was soon baptized into the Church of Scotland. He added "Hastings" to his name after his baptism, in honor of John Hastings, a much-admired missionary in the region. But as Philip Short noted, "Banda's espousal of Christianity and his taking of a western forename in no way implied any rejection of his African heritage." The boy continued to take part in all the rites and ceremonies of his tribe, even though some of these rites were not held in high regard by the missionaries.

Banda left Mtunthama to attend the Chilanga Full Primary School, where his Uncle Phiri had become a teacher, when he was about 13 years old. At Chilanga, Phiri taught his nephew all the usual subjects, but he also instilled in him a deep interest in his tribe's history and his first understanding that the natives of Nyasaland were actually under the control of a far-off government (Great Britain).

In 1917, the 19-year-old Banda decided that he had learned all that he could in the schools of Nyasaland, so he set out for South Africa, where he hoped to continue his education. He made the long trip on foot, since he had no money. At one point he stopped and worked for a time at a hospital in Rhodesia; his experiences there sparked an interest in medicine that he would later pursue with unwavering determination. More than two years after setting out, he finally arrived in Johannesburg, South Africa's capital, where he worked at a variety of tough jobs while attending night school.

By the early 1920s Banda knew that he wanted to pursue a career in medicine. Armed with financial aid from an American Methodist minister, he traveled to the United States to continue his education. In 1925 he was accepted at Wilberforce College in Ohio, and he secured a B.A. from that institution in only three years. After graduating from Wilberforce, he attended a number of different schools, including Indiana University (where he took history and political science classes), the University of Chicago, and Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, where he received his M.D. degree in 1937.

Banda then took additional classes at the University of Edinburgh in Great Britain. Around 1941 he applied for permission to return to Nyasaland and practice medicine there. The authorities tried to attach a number of restric-

tions to his permit—they insisted that he promise not to fraternize with any white doctors, for instance—so Banda balked and decided to open a practice in England instead.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Career in England

During World War II Banda's medical business thrived. He divided his time between his work at a Tyneside-area mission for black soldiers and his London practice for much of 1944. By the end of the 1940s he had built a comfortable existence for himself in England, and he made many white friends. Banda biographer Philip Short commented that the young doctor's strict moral outlook was carried to such an extreme that even in his conservative surroundings he stood out. "To Banda, a man who appeared in company without shoes and socks was literally 'exhibiting his nakedness.'" wrote Short. "On one occasion when this happened while Banda was present, he rushed out of the room and could talk of nothing for weeks afterwards but 'that revolting man.' In the same way he would never receive friends unless he was correctly attired."

Even though he had not seen his native country for more than two decades by this point, Banda followed events there very closely, and his London home became a gathering place for African nationalists and intellectuals passing through England. Banda also corresponded with African leaders back in Nyasaland, and he wrote a large amount of literature in support of Nyasaland nationalists, who argued that the natives of the country should be granted freedom from Britain's rule. Such activities made him well-known back in his homeland, and by the end of the 1940s he was regarded as a leading voice for Nyasaland independence.

Leader of Independence Movement

In 1949 events in central Africa spurred Banda to assume an even greater level of involvement in Nyasaland's affairs. In February of that year, white settlers in the region proposed that the colonies of Nyasaland and Rhodesia (which later divided into the independent nations of Zambia and Zimbabwe) be combined into a single federation under white rule. Banda angrily objected to the proposal, partly because he knew that it would hinder his countrymen's efforts to gain independence, and partly because he felt that white Rhodesians were the worst racists he had ever met. His efforts to defeat the initiative led to the creation of the Nyasaland African Congress, an independence-minded group that used a variety of nonviolent tactics to try and prevent the federation from taking place.

The group's efforts fell short, though, and the federation was established in 1953. Banda subsequently left England for Africa's Gold Coast (now Ghana), where he provided medical assistance to poor people and publicly advocated the dissolution of the federation and the creation of a free state in Nyasaland. By this time he was the acknowledged leader of the Nyasaland independence movement, so when tensions rose between the region's white leadership and its frustrated black majority in the mid-1950s, the federation government asked him to return home and calm his followers.

On July 6, 1958, Banda set foot on the soil of his homeland for the first time in more than 40 years. He had long since forgotten how to speak the language of his people, but the thousands who greeted him did not care, for they had come to see him as a symbol of independence. He immediately called for negotiations between the federation's European leaders and native representatives, and strongly defended the legitimacy of the calls for independence that had been ringing across the land. But he also told his followers that they should not resort to violence, and he warned that the journey to independence would be a difficult one: "Everyone expects that I have come with self-government in my handbag, but we will have to struggle for it," he said.

Banda quickly assumed the leadership of the Nyasaland African Congress. Over the course of the next year, the government realized that they had underestimated the power that Banda held in the black community, and it became increasingly concerned about his outspoken criticisms of the federation. In March 1959 Nyasaland's governor, Sir Robert Armitage, declared a state of emergency and had Banda arrested.

Banda remained calm despite this turn of events. He smuggled messages out of his jail cell to his followers, and spent hours reading about politics, economics, and philosophy. In September 1959 his followers formed the Malawi Congress Party (Malawi was one of the names that had been proposed for an independent Nyasaland). Their voices, combined with those of politicians in England and elsewhere in Africa, eventually convinced the government to release Banda in April 1960.

Over the next few years Banda and the other leaders of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) lobbied tirelessly for independence. On August 15, 1961, party representatives registered overwhelming victories across Nyasaland in elections that had been insisted upon by the nationalists. This election effectively killed the federation, for it gave nationalist factions the momentum they needed to introduce the reforms they wanted. In 1963 Banda was named prime minister of Malawi (the new name for the region), and a year later the state became an independent country. In 1966 he was elected president, and five years later he changed his title to president-for-life.

Banda's Presidency

Banda's followers were ecstatic when their leader assumed the presidency of Malawi, but over the coming years his rule was far more oppressive than they anticipated. Soon after becoming president, Banda announced several measures designed to remove opposition to him. He instituted a single-party political system that effectively silenced those who had different political philosophies, and he assumed control of many different aspects of Malawi society with dizzying speed. In addition to serving as the country's president and the leader of its only legal political party, he named himself the Minister of Agriculture, Public Works, Justice, and Foreign Affairs, led a monopoly that controlled various state industries, appointed himself head of the local Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and served as the top official of Malawi's lone national university.

More ominously, Banda also became known for his ruthless removal of officials who he thought might threaten his position. Some of these officials were executed, and those who opposed him quickly learned to keep quiet or get out of the country. Even then, people who displeased Banda were not safe; Malawi hit squads executed several "enemies of the state" living in exile over the years. The president was harshly criticized for such violence by human rights activists and others, but Banda was unapologetic. "Let the world criticize me and my government," he said a few years after assuming office. "If I do not act there will be chaos in this country. . . . Then the people sitting in the editorial chairs in London will say: 'Oh, we told you, Africans cannot govern themselves. . . .' That's what they will be saying. I want to make this quite clear. My first job as long as I am in Zomba [a city in Malawi] is to maintain political stability in this country, and efficient, incorruptible administration."

As a foe of Communism, Banda received significant financial aid from Western powers, including the United States, during the "Cold War." The Cold War was the term commonly used to refer to the hostility and distrust that existed between the communist-led Soviet Union and its allies and the democratic United States and its Western European allies. Both sides competed to establish their political philosophies and expand their spheres of influence in Africa and other regions of the world from the 1950s through the late 1980s, when the communist governments in the Soviet Union and many other nations collapsed. South Africa, whose black majority was ruled by a small white minority, provided significant financial assistance to Malawi as well, since Malawi was the only nation on the African continent that maintained full diplomatic relations with its government. But despite such aid, Malawi remained a poor country heavily reliant on the farming of such crops as rice and tea.

During the 1970s and 1980s Malawi also came to reflect Banda's conservative personal tastes. Banda forbade citizens from having long hair or wearing cur-

rent Western fashions, like bell-bottom pants or short skirts, and the people of Malawi were not allowed to have televisions. Magazines were heavily censored as well, and many visitors to the country reported that photographs of women wearing sleeveless dresses or other outfits that did not cover their limbs were usually heavily marked up. At one point Banda even outlawed the Simon and Garfunkel song "Cecilia" from the country, deeming its lyrics offensive to Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira, a woman with whom he was romantically involved.

From the mid-1960s—when he first assumed power—to the end of the 1980s, Banda faced few serious threats to his position. Looking back on Banda's rule during this period, Nigerian scholar Adewala Maja-Pearce commented, "Banda is a pretty typical African leader, but he has been much franker than most. He has always said Africans are simply incapable of ruling themselves for now. They need a dictator, and that's that." This philosophy led Banda to keep nearly all government power to himself, and to terrorize or imprison potential political foes. Indeed, he came to be seen as the personification of the country he ruled, in part because his image was seemingly everywhere. As the *New York Times* observed, "his face appears on coins and banknotes, on the walls of every shop and office, and on the bright cloth worn by the ululating [singing] women who are bused out to greet him at every staged stop on his itinerary." In addition, he maintained an imperial lifestyle that further added to his mystique. "In a country where most live without running water or electricity, he traveled among his five official residences in a Lear jet and a fleet of British luxury cars," noted the *Times*.

But in 1990 the aging Banda suffered a stroke, and some people of Malawi finally began to speak out against his autocratic rule. In 1991 the country's Roman Catholic Church issued a widely disseminated protest against the government's human rights abuses and its refusal to tolerate differing opinions. Scattered protests against Banda erupted across the nation, and these intensified when the president underwent brain surgery in 1993. Even Western nations that had previously supported the Banda government for its Cold War opposition to Communism began to question the regime after the fall of the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites in the late 1980s. By the early 1990s these countries were cutting back on aid to Malawi in the face of its embarrassing human rights record.

In June 1993 Banda capitulated to the pressure and held a national referendum. The people of Malawi decisively rejected one-party rule and called for new elections. A year later Banda was defeated in his bid to retain the presidency by Bakili Muluzi, the candidate of the United Democratic Front Party. Observers were relieved by Muluzi's victory, not only because he represented a fresh start for the nation, but also because Banda sometimes appeared incoherent and confused during his campaign appearances.

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President Banda dancing with women followers at his last rally during the 1993 referendum campaign

In the aftermath of the election, which was widely regarded as both peaceful and fair, Banda offered his congratulations to his successor. "I wish to congratulate him wholeheartedly and offer him my full support and cooperation," he said. Muluzi initially indicated that he was not interested in pursuing criminal charges against the aged Banda for some of his actions of earlier years, but a few months after he assumed office, he finally heeded his countrymen's calls and placed the ex-president under house arrest. In January 1995 Banda was charged with plotting to kill four political opponents during his days as president. After a controversial trial in which government prosecutors charged that the judge was unfairly favoring Banda, the ex-dictator was acquitted of the murder charges. The government subsequently filed an appeal of the verdict. A few weeks later, in January 1996, Banda offered a vaguely worded apology to the people of Malawi for incidents that took place in the nation during his reign. "During my term of office, I selflessly dedicated myself to the good cause of mother Malawi," he said. If "pain and suffering" was caused by "those who worked in my government, or through false pretence in my name, or indeed unknowingly by me," then "I offer my sincere apologies." This apology was not enough to save him from being brought up on

criminal charges once again. In late January 1997, Banda was charged with embezzling government funds during his time as president. He and his long-time companion Cecilia Kadzamira were placed under house arrest, where they will remain until the trial.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Banda never married or had children, though he has had a couple of serious relationships during his life. The first of these was with Margaret French, a woman he met during his days in London. Later, after assuming the presidency of Malawi, he became linked with Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira, who served as his official "hostess" when he entertained guests.

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ADDRESS

Blantyre, Malawi

Haile Selassie 1892-1975

Ethiopian Emperor

BIRTH

Haile Selassie (HI-lee suh-LAH-see) was born as Tafari Makonnen on July 23, 1892, in Ejarsa Goro, a town in Ethiopia's Harar Province. He changed to Haile Selassie, which means "Power of the Trinity," in 1928, when he was named king of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie's father, Ras Makonnen, was an important figure in the Ethiopian government, serving as the governor of Harar Province and chief adviser to his cousin, Emperor Menelik II. Haile Selassie's mother, Wayzoro Yashimabet, died while giving birth when he was only 18 months old. He was the only one of his parents' 11 children to survive to adulthood.

ETHIOPIAN HISTORY

Ethiopian tradition holds that the East African country was first founded around the 10th century B.C. by Menelik I, reputedly the son of the Biblical King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, who in legend was considered the first queen of Ethiopia. Historical evidence of the kingdom, however, dates back only to the first century A.D., when it was known as Axum. The people of the region embraced Coptic Christianity (a form of Christianity founded in Egypt) in the fifth century A.D., and it soon became the official religion of the kingdom. Many people in the surrounding areas were Muslims who practiced Islam, however, and religious disputes arose between them and the Christians of Axum. By the sixth century A.D., the power of Axum had begun to decline.

During the 13th century a family dynasty that claimed Solomon as an ancestor emerged in the land, which was gradually becoming known as Ethiopia. During the 18th and 19th centuries, when most other African nations were being taken over by European colonial powers, Ethiopia remained independent and under black African control. But the kingdom remained an unstable one until late in the 19th century, when Menelik II—a member of the clan that had long claimed Solomon as an ancestor—took control and established a strong monarchy. At this time, Ethiopia was a poor but proud empire ruled by a constantly feuding group of kings, princes, and provincial governors descended from various prominent families. The members of this ruling class owned most of the land and enacted laws that prevented the peasant and working classes from gaining wealth or power. Members of the lower classes generally lived in poverty as tenant farmers, servants, or slaves.

During his rule, Menelik reunified the country by regaining possession of a number of small kingdoms that had split off from Ethiopia over the previous years, and he then expanded it by conquering territory to the south and east. Menelik II was also credited with constructing Ethiopia's first railroad and establishing its first modern schools and hospitals.

YOUTH

Haile Selassie was born into a family of wealth and nobility. His father, in addition to serving in government, was the cousin and close friend and ally of Emperor Menelik II and was descended from royalty himself, as the great-grandson of the late King Sahle Selassie of Shoa. His father's first name, Ras, actually meant "prince," a title that was bestowed on him in 1890. Because Ras Makonnen was a prince and the governor of the influential Harar Province, he modeled his household and lifestyle after that of the emperor and his imperial court. The family owned a huge amount of land and controlled an army of 6,000 men, which helped maintain order and collected rent

and taxes. Indeed, the provincial governors wielded considerable independence in Menelik's kingdom, since the emperor relied on their armies for protection and revenue-gathering.

Despite his father's hectic schedule as a prominent governor, Haile Selassie still formed a close bond with him. Haile Selassie later became well-known for his emotional reserve and distance, but he revealed his feelings about his father in his autobiography, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress*. "As the love that existed between . . . my father and myself was altogether special I can feel it up to the present. He always used to praise me for the work that I was doing and for my being obedient. His officers and men used to love me respectfully because they observed with admiration the affection which my father had for me," he wrote. "As I grew up, the spiritual desire was guiding me to emulate him and to conduct myself that his example should dwell within me."

EDUCATION

Because of the prominence of his family, Haile Selassie received the best education possible. He learned about Ethiopian traditions and the tenets of the Coptic Christian faith that his family followed, but he was also taught European history and ideas by private tutors. Ras Makonnen had traveled abroad, and he knew that training in the dominant culture of the time was essential if his son was ever to help lead Ethiopia into a larger role on the world stage, which was one of Makonnen's greatest desires. In his autobiography, Haile Selassie later wrote that "my father had a strong desire to see the people get accustomed to the work of civilization which he had observed in Europe."

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Rise to Power

By age 13, Haile Selassie began to emulate his father when he made his first steps into government service. Seeing how intelligent his son was and how much he was admired, Makonnen named Haile Selassie the commander of a local militia unit. This was a large step towards manhood for the teenager, as it meant establishing his own household, complete with servants, soldiers, and slaves (it was common for the ruling class to keep slaves in the country at that time).

Ras Makonnen died in 1906, when Haile Selassie was 14. Upon his father's death, Haile Selassie was sent to the imperial palace in the capital city of Addis Ababa to be taken care of by Emperor Menelik. However, Haile Selassie's presence in the palace touched off a time of great political rivalry and intrigue. Menelik's wife, Taitu, wished to keep her own family members in power. She recognized that Haile Selassie was one of her husband's fa-

vorites and that he posed a threat to her plan. As a result, she saw to it that Haile Selassie was named governor of a distant Ethiopian province instead of the powerful Harar Province.

This move slowed Haile Selassie's rise to power only temporarily. With Menelik in failing health and Taitu running the palace, Haile Selassie bided his time until 1910. In that year, aided by another powerful governor, he took control of Harar Province, where he proved to be a popular governor. He built great loyalty among his father's former followers by ending the use of forced labor, granting peasants legal rights, and lowering taxes and land-use fees. As the months passed and Menelik's health deteriorated, Haile Selassie continued to build his power base, waiting for the right time to make his move back to the imperial palace.

When Menelik finally died of complications from a series of strokes in his grandson Li Yasu (an ally of Empress Taitu) was named emperor, though he was never officially crowned. Yasu proved to be a weak ruler. His efforts to change the nation's religion from Coptic Christianity to Islam angered Coptic noblemen, and his stance against England and its allies during World War I led those nations to actively work against him. In 1916, Yasu was removed from power and Menelik's daughter Zauditu was crowned empress. Haile Selassie was a powerful presence in the country by this time, but instead of trying to seize the throne by force, he continued to follow his strategy of reaching the crown through careful maneuvering. Before Zauditu could ascend the throne, Haile Selassie insisted on two conditions, both of which were agreed to: she had to divorce her husband and rule alone, and she had to appoint Haile Selassie as regent and heir to the throne. He was also made a *ras*, or prince, at that time.

Haile Selassie's power continued to grow over the next 10 years. By using political connections, intelligence, and savvy, he established a base that soon made him a more powerful figure at home and abroad than the empress. Whereas the empress was conservative and desired little contact with the outside world, Haile Selassie was a dynamic figure who sought to bring modern ideas to Ethiopia. After slowly replacing conservative members of the Council of Ministers with his own supporters, Haile Selassie began a program of modernization in 1919. He introduced a bureaucratic style of government for the first time, based on code books and administrative regulations imported from Europe. Shortly after that, he established the first regular court system in the country. The first printing press was brought to Ethiopia in 1922, which resulted in publication of the nation's first newspaper. Electricity and automobiles were brought in later that year for the benefit of the established nobility. Other improvements during this time of sweeping change included school construction, the introduction of telephone service, and the institution of a revamped prison and justice system.

Haile Selassie made his debut on the world stage around the same time. In 1923, against Empress Zauditu's wishes, Ethiopia became a member of the League of Nations, an organization formed after World War I to promote international cooperation and peace. To gain entrance to the League, Haile Selassie abolished slavery in Ethiopia in 1924. Also in that year, the increasingly powerful *ras* made his first trip abroad, taking an entourage that included lions and zebras to France, Belgium, Italy, Great Britain, and Greece. Haile Selassie greatly impressed the European leaders that he visited, and as a result, consultants and foreign aid were sent to Ethiopia to assist in the modernization efforts.

Upon his return from Europe, Haile Selassie continued to consolidate his power. He levied a tax on all imports to Ethiopia, which vastly increased his personal fortune. He used the money to finance the education of future leaders and reward members of the Ethiopian army for their loyalty to him. By 1928, Haile Selassie was so powerful that he forced Zauditu to name him *negus*, or king (it was at this point that he changed his name from Ras Tafari to Haile Selassie). This marked the beginning of the end for Zauditu. In 1930 her estranged husband, Ras Gugsa Wolie, led an army against Haile Selassie in an attempt to overthrow him, but the attempt failed and Ras Gugsa was killed. Two days later, on April 2, 1930, Zauditu herself died under very mysterious circumstances. Haile Selassie's rise to power was now complete—he was named Emperor of Ethiopia.

Emperor of Ethiopia

Haile Selassie's coronation took place on November 2, 1930, at which time he was crowned His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, King of Kings of Ethiopia, Lion of Judah, and Elect of God. After formally taking power, Haile Selassie continued to lead efforts to modernize Ethiopia, establishing the nation's first constitution in 1931. All Ethiopians were proclaimed equal under the law, and a two-chamber parliament was created, although Haile Selassie retained the right to overturn any parliamentary decision. While the constitution was seen as a positive step, it never did achieve the level of reform that it might have; the traditional ruling classes continued to control the country even after its passage.

Rastafarianism

The impact of Haile Selassie's rise to power was felt far beyond the borders of Ethiopia. Members of some black communities around the world came to see Haile Selassie as a figure to be worshiped as a god. This was particularly true in Jamaica, where in 1927 the black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey had prophesied that a black messiah would be crowned in Africa. After Haile Selassie was made emperor, some Jamaicans came to view Haile Selassie as

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the future king of all blacks throughout the world, and a new religion was founded to worship him. Followers of the religion called themselves Rastafarians (a reference to Haile Selassie's original name, Ras Tafari). Members of the cult, who believed that white religions and black cultures were incompatible, held that blacks needed to abandon Western cultures for the lands of their ancestors. According to their belief system, Haile Selassie was the black Messiah, and Ethiopia was the Promised Land. Rastafarians also believe that Haile Selassie's death in the 1970s merely signaled that he had moved on to a higher plane of existence.

Italy Invades

In 1935, Italy (led by Benito Mussolini) invaded Ethiopia as part of an effort to increase its holdings in Africa. Unable to withstand the assault, Haile Selassie was forced to flee to Europe in 1936. This was the first step in the spread of fascism that would lead to World War II. Haile Selassie subsequently made an impassioned plea for international help at the League of Nations on June 30, 1936. "It is a question of collective security," he told the delegates, "of the very existence of the League; of the trust placed by the states in international treaties. . . . It is international morality at stake."

Haile Selassie went on to correctly predict the demise of the League of Nations and the start of World War II in two prophetic statements. "The confidence which members of the League of Nations will feel justified in placing in this organization in the future must, in large measure, be influenced by its success or failure in the present instance," he claimed. Indeed, the League failed to come to Ethiopia's aid or to condemn Italy, causing member countries to lose confidence in the organization, and it quickly collapsed. Haile Selassie knew that the League's inaction would only encourage aggression by other nations down the road. As he left the stage, Haile Selassie was heard to say: "It is us today. It will be you tomorrow." Within the next few years, Adolph Hitler would prove him right by invading Poland, an action that marked the beginning of World War II.

In 1941, with the help of the Allied Powers, the Italians were defeated and Haile Selassie returned to Ethiopia, where he resumed leadership of the country and also continued his modernization efforts. In 1942, he reformed the government, making it more centralized. In 1944, he created the first income tax, which met with some resistance but was implemented nationwide. Other areas of reform included improved health care, a modernized infrastructure, increased foreign trade, and improved education, including the founding of the nation's first college—Haile Selassie I University—in 1951. Still, many Ethiopians did not benefit from Haile Selassie's initiatives. Thousands of Ethiopian families from the peasant and working classes lived in grinding poverty, and they sometimes felt that their emperor paid little attention to the difficult circumstances in which they lived.

Haile Selassie reviewing the troops

Reign Threatened

In 1955, Haile Selassie celebrated 25 years in power by introducing a new constitution. The constitution expanded the powers of parliament on paper, but in fact the emperor retained almost complete control. In the country's first general election in 1957, members of the dominant landholder class won almost every seat in parliament. This angered many younger Ethiopians and progressives, who wanted to see real reforms enacted to improve conditions for the lower classes. In 1960, university students and members of the Imperial Guard staged a coup attempt, seizing control of Addis Ababa. They demanded that true democracy be installed and that more serious attempts be made to end the horrible poverty that plagued much of the nation. The coup was quickly put down and its leaders executed. The attempted takeover made Haile Selassie more cautious and ended many of his attempts at reform; it also led many Ethiopians to look at his sometimes iron-handed rule with a greater sense of anger and frustration.

Feeling his power within his own country slipping away, Haile Selassie turned his attention to foreign affairs. He continued his role as a leading African spokesman in Europe, but he also began taking a far more active role in pan-African politics—issues concerning all of the countries on the African continent. On May 22, 1963, Haile Selassie led a conference that saw the formation of the Organization of African Unity; he was rewarded for his efforts when the headquarters of the organization was located in Addis Ababa. He continued to exercise his increased power in Africa by acting as a mediator in disputes between Morocco and Algeria, Ghana and Guinea, and the different factions involved in the bloody Nigerian civil war. During this time period, he was viewed throughout the world as the elder statesman of all of Africa.

This increasing presence in international politics did nothing to help his status in Ethiopia, however, and his power started to unravel in 1969. Widespread opposition to tax laws passed in 1967 (which were viewed as his last gasp attempts at modernization) turned into bloody conflict in 1969, when 23 students were killed at a protest in December. Haile Selassie made the situation worse by appearing indifferent to the conflicts and to growing charges that his government was corrupt. From 1969 until 1974 he traveled abroad, ignoring the forces that were gathering against him.

In 1972 and 1973, drought conditions triggered an enormous famine that swept the Ethiopian countryside, killing tens of thousands of people. At the same time, a rise in oil prices depleted national accounts and Western nations cut back on foreign aid to distance themselves from the Haile Selassie regime, which was increasingly seen as ineffective and corrupt. Money became scarce and the government was forced to institute harsh restrictions on spending. This move backfired when many junior army officers, angered at their terrible living conditions, forced Haile Selassie to grant them increases in pay. This

appeasement was viewed as a sign of the emperor's weakness, and it proved to be his undoing. Made brave by their successful fight for pay raises, the junior officers began to jail older, high-ranking army officers and members of Haile Selassie's government, executing some leaders. A military junta led by Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam soon seized power, and on September 12, 1974, Haile Selassie was arrested and put in jail for allegedly embezzling more than $1 billion in state funds.

Haile Selassie died on August 27, 1975, while under house arrest. Ethiopian authorities say that he died in his sleep, though there were rumors that foul play had been involved. He was buried without ceremony in an unmarked grave underneath an office occupied by Mengistu, who succeeded Haile Selassie as ruler of Ethiopia. In 1992, his body was exhumed so that he could be buried in the presence of his family. A formal burial ceremony was held on July 23, 1992, marking the 100th anniversary of Haile Selassie's birth. Today, despite the tight control that he kept on power during his reign, Haile Selassie is remembered as a mythic figure in African politics who took great steps toward modernizing Ethiopia.

Mengistu's rise to power marked the end of the monarchy style of government that had held sway in Ethiopia for so many centuries. Mengistu installed a brutal military dictatorship that stayed in place until 1987, when a new constitution was adopted that called for a return to civilian government. But power remained in the hands of Mengistu and his military allies until 1991, when rebels from Ethiopia's Eritrea and Tigre regions defeated him. In 1993 Eritrea gained independence from Ethiopia; a year later Ethiopia adopted a new constitution, and in 1995 the country held its first multiparty parliamentary elections. The election was won by the Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front, whose leaders had led the revolt against Mengistu in 1991. In 1996, 46 members of Mengistu's government were put on trial on charges of genocide (the systematic murder of members of a certain religious, political, or cultural group). They faced the death penalty if convicted. The trial, which experienced frequent postponements and delays, continued into 1997. Though the people of Ethiopia are still among the poorest in the world, there is hope that they will soon benefit from democracy.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Haile Selassie was married two times. Little is known of his first wife, with whom he had one child. In 1911, following the death of Menelik II, Li Yasu was emperor of Ethiopia. Threatened by Haile Selassie's growing power, Yasu forced him to leave his first wife in order to marry Yasu's niece, Woizero Menen. Yasu thought that bringing Haile Selassie into the family would neutralize his power, but the move backfired and caused Haile Selassie to fight even harder to become emperor.

Haile Selassie did seem to have a happy marriage with Menen. They remained together until her death in 1961 and had six children: Crown Prince Asfa Wusen Haile Selassie; Prince Makonnen Haile Selassie; Prince Sahle Haile Selassie; Princess Lilt Kaluma Work; Princess Tsahai; and Princess Tenegn Work. When Haile Selassie's oldest son and heir to the throne, Asfa Wusen, died in 1997, it appeared that the family dynasty that had traced its roots back to King Solomon had come to an end.

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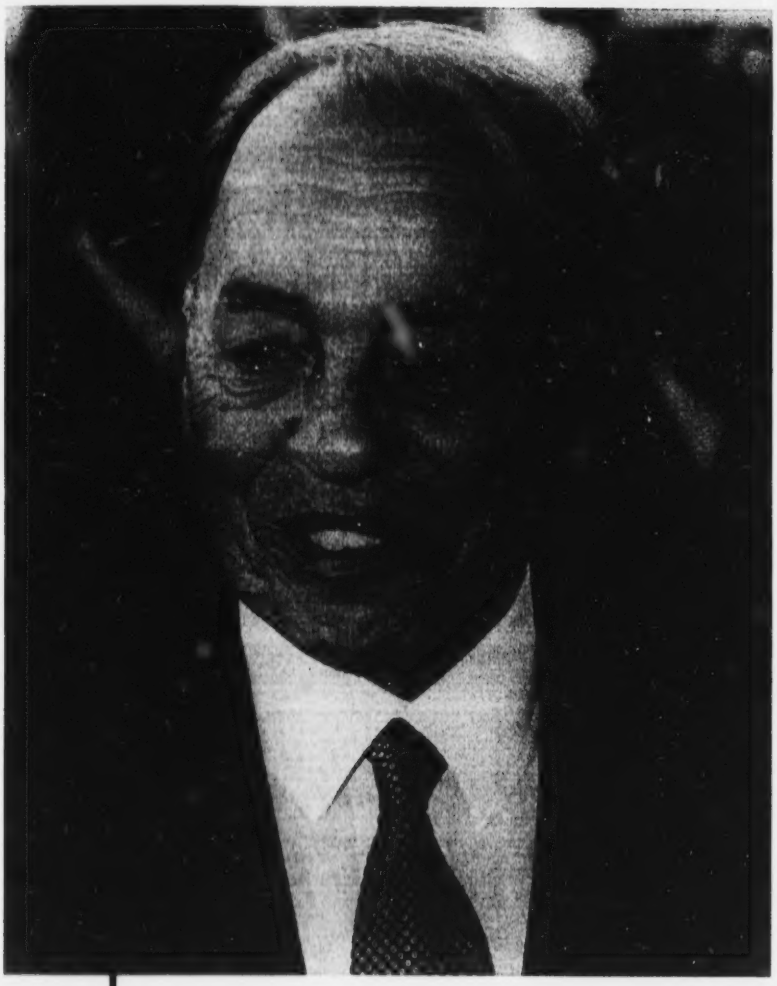

Hassan II 1929-

King of Morocco

BIRTH

Hassan II was born on July 9, 1929, in Rabat, Morocco, which is part of the Arab northern section of Africa. His full name is Moulay el-Hassan ben Mohammed el-Alaoui, but he was known as Prince Moulay Hassan until he became the king of Morocco in 1961. Hassan is the oldest of six children born to the Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, later known as King Mohammed V of Morocco. Hassan is descended from a royal family that began ruling the Sherifian Empire, as Morocco was formerly known, more than 300 years ago. He is the 21st sover-

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eign of the Alaouite dynasty and a 35th-generation descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, founder of the Islam religion. The name "Moulay" signifies his relation to Muhammad.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not cause that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in its industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, Spain, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that

the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

MOROCCO'S FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Morocco is located on the Atlantic Ocean in the northwestern corner of the African continent, just across the Strait of Gibraltar from Spain. By the time that Hassan II was born, the people of Morocco had been involved in a long struggle for independence from European powers. Hassan's ancestors had ruled the region as sultans since the 17th century, but by the beginning of the 20th century the power of the Sherifian Empire, as their rule was known, was waning. During the early part of the century both France and Spain began to wield enormous influence over the country, and the native Moroccans found that even though their country was supposedly independent, they could not make any meaningful economic, social, or political changes to their nation without the approval of French and Spanish officials. This situation deeply angered the people of Morocco, but their wishes for true independence were ignored. In 1912 the nominal leader of the Moroccan people, Sultan Abd al-Hafidh, signed a treaty that gave France official control of one portion of the country. The terms of the treaty also granted Spain control of the northern part of the country.

During the 1920s, though, it became clear that some Moroccans would not accept French rule. Several revolts against the French erupted during this time. Each rebellion failed, but the unrest worried the French, who were determined to keep Morocco as a protectorate (dependent province) of France.

One Moroccan who worked particularly hard to gain independence for his country was Hassan II's father, Sultan Mohammed V. As sultan of Morocco, he wielded more power than any other native of the country. But while the French permitted Hassan's father to rule in local and religious matters, they continued to hold ultimate power. As time passed, though, international developments gave Mohammad V an opportunity to make his strongest bid for independence yet.

Kaunda and his allies pressed their advantage, announcing that they would fight to remove Northern Rhodesia from the white-dominated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In the spring of 1963 Great Britain announced that the country could secede from the federation if it wished to do so. Within a year both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia had left the union, effectively ending the federation's existence.

When World War II broke out in 1939, the French were far too worried about Adolf Hitler's German army advancing through Europe to pay much attention to their African colonies. As a result, France agreed to grant Morocco its independence in exchange for its cooperation during the war. In 1943, Hassan's father, along with other Moroccan leaders, established the Istiqlal Party to promote Moroccan independence. The monarchy, represented by Mohammed V, became the symbol of the independence movement. By the end of the war in 1945, however, it had become clear that the French would not keep their word.

Tired of waiting and of broken promises, Hassan's father openly defied the French and demanded Moroccan independence on August 20, 1953. The French accused the sultan of organizing a revolution and sent the family into exile. The royal family first went to the French island of Corsica, and then to the island nation of Madagascar, off the east coast of Africa. At this time, young Hassan became his father's trusted secretary and began to play an important role in the monarchy's affairs.

Contrary to what the French believed would happen, getting rid of Hassan's father only intensified the Moroccan calls for independence. During 1954 and 1955, the people engaged in riots and a group known as the National Liberation Army began a guerrilla war against the French. Desperate to restore order to their unruly province, the French permitted Hassan's family to return to Morocco in 1955. When the people of France elected a new government that year, Hassan traveled to Paris to negotiate with the new leaders. They agreed to allow Hassan's father to form his own government at the end of 1955, and they formally granted Morocco its independence on March 2, 1956. Spain gave up its control over the northern part of the country a month later. In 1957 Mohammad V changed his own title from sultan to king and took steps toward establishing a constitutional monarchy (a type of government that is led by a king, or monarch, but also includes a cabinet and elected legislature).

EDUCATION

During the years when his father was leading the early movement toward Moroccan independence, young Hassan enjoyed a privileged childhood as the heir to the throne. He lived in the Rabat Royal Palace, where he was tutored by French and Moroccan teachers. To provide Hassan with the religious training required of an Islamic leader, his father established a Koranic school within the walls of the palace.

When Hassan was ready to begin his secondary education, his father founded the Imperial College in Rabat. The students at the school included Hassan's brothers and sisters, as well as a select group of Moroccans. His father set up the school and hand-picked the students so that his children would be able to

associate with Moroccans of all social classes. The Imperial College curriculum was wide-ranging and included Arabic literature, Islamic theology, history, French, and English. Hassan's favorite subjects were history and literature.

In 1948, Hassan enrolled in Rabat's Centre d'Etudes Juridiques et d'Economie Politique, an extension of France's University of Bordeaux. He received his law degree from the university in 1952. During his school years, the future king also trained with the French navy and served aboard the battleship *Jeanne d'Arc*.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Hassan was 26 years old by the time his father finally prevailed in the long struggle for Moroccan independence. As a highly educated young man from a wealthy and prominent family, he was closely watched by the press and frequently became the subject of tabloid gossip. Morocco was considered a hot vacation spot for the rich and famous, and Hassan gained a reputation as a playboy who enjoyed visiting nightclubs, flying airplanes, and racing horses. In his government activities, however, he also showed a more serious, studious side of his nature that did not attract the attention of the press.

Hassan acted as his father's chief deputy and was appointed to organize the Royal Armed Forces. As commander in chief, one of his first duties was to stop the rebellions that were taking place in various parts of the kingdom. These rebellions were organized by groups of citizens who wanted to eliminate the monarchy and establish a democratic government in Morocco. By 1959, Hassan had modernized the army and doubled its size. He convinced former guerrillas to join the army and also negotiated with Berber tribesmen, who sent 5,000 men for military service. When the army was not defending the kingdom, Hassan employed the soldiers on projects such as building irrigation canals. In 1960, when a huge earthquake devastated the city of Agadir, Hassan personally directed the army's rescue operations.

King Hassan II

In 1961, after his father died unexpectedly following minor surgery, Hassan became the new king of Morocco. His succession was a departure from Moroccan tradition. Under the rules of the Sherifian Empire, succession was not based upon birth. Rather, the new king was chosen by Muslim religious leaders. But Hassan's father had changed the rules following Moroccan independence and named his eldest son as the heir to the throne.

Hassan was devastated by the loss of his father, but he realized how important it was for him to immediately begin taking over the duties of the monarchy. Despite his experience as commander in chief and one of his father's trusted advisers, many people focused on his playboy image and doubted

whether he had what it took to rule the country. "When I ascended to the throne, people said I would not last more than six months," Hassan admitted later. At his coronation, the new king tried to calm Moroccans' fears about his character by saying, "The man you knew as Prince Moulay Hassan no longer exists."

Those who doubted Hassan's ability to rule Morocco were quickly proved wrong. One of his first acts as king was to create a democratic constitution—guaranteeing freedom of speech, the press, and religion—which was ratified in 1962. The constitution also established a two-chamber legislature, though ultimate power remained with the king, who could dismiss the government at any time and veto any legislation. This was not the type of democracy many Moroccans had fought to achieve, and some of those who had once viewed the monarchy as a symbol of independence now wanted it gone.

Hassan had no intention of allowing his monarchy to be overthrown. He had seen it occur in previous years in both Egypt and Libya, and he was prepared to use any means necessary to retain his throne. When his political party failed to gain a majority in the legislature, Hassan arrested 130 opposition leaders and accused them of plotting to overthrow the government. One of the most prominent members of the opposition, Mehdi Ben Barka, escaped to Europe. In a bizarre plot, Hassan's state security force arranged with the French secret service to have Ben Barka lured out of hiding and brought to Paris, where he was tortured and killed. In the French trial that followed, Hassan refused to cooperate or to send his conspirators to France. This incident, along with others that followed, caused some international observers to criticize the human-rights policies of Hassan's government.

During this time, however, Hassan also worked to improve conditions in Morocco. He began a program of public works to build roads, drain swamps, plant trees, build schools, and educate children. Though he admitted that economic conditions were less than ideal, the king expressed confidence that his programs would make a difference. "Our economy has not found yet its equilibrium," he noted. "Unemployment is high, underemployment exists in rural areas; investments are insufficient even though the country is potentially very rich and still awaits proper exploitation. We must free ourselves from the existing atrophy and stagnation by modernizing our methods and mobilizing the people, who represent our precious capital." Hassan's economic programs, along with his actions during a border war with Algeria, eventually helped make him more popular than the parliament. At the peak of his popularity, Hassan exercised his power to suspend parliament. He then declared a state of emergency and controlled all political activity himself until 1970.

In 1970, Hassan once again wrote a new constitution and allowed multiparty elections. The opposition party boycotted the elections, however, because the king retained ultimate power under the new constitution. Opposition to

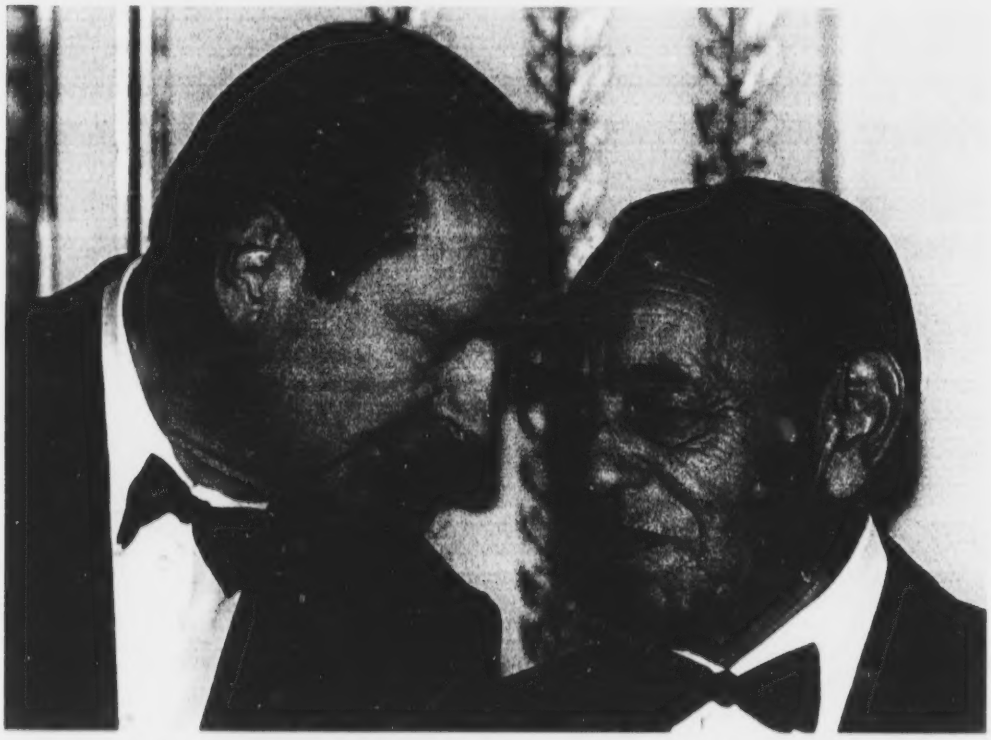
Hassan's rule reached a critical level in 1971, when an attempted coup nearly cost the king his life. During a large party in honor of Hassan's 42nd birthday, 1,400 Moroccan troops raided the palace in search of the king. Though 100 of his guests were killed in the fighting that followed, Hassan escaped harm by hiding in a bathroom until loyal troops put down the rebellion.

A year later, Hassan survived another attack on his life when rebel pilots from the Moroccan air force tried to shoot down his royal jet as it returned from France. The jet was damaged, but it managed to land safely. When the renegade pilots came back to bomb the jet as it sat on the runway, Hassan spoke to them over the radio, saying "Stop firing. The tyrant is dead." The pilots, believing they had carried out their mission successfully, turned away. Hassan dealt with the plots on his life severely. The alleged leader of the opposition, General Mohammed Oufkir, was said to have committed suicide, and many of the other conspirators were executed. The king also placed Oufkir's relatives, including his wife and children, under house arrest for many years. Ironically, the two assassination attempts actually heightened Hassan's stature among many Moroccans.

Controversial Figure in International Affairs

In 1975, Hassan made a dramatic move to unite the people of Morocco behind a common cause. Claiming that the Spanish Sahara—which extends down the Atlantic Coast from the southern border of Morocco—had historically been Moroccan territory, Hassan called upon his subjects to help him reclaim the area. On November 6, 1975, about 350,000 Moroccans answered his call and marched into the Spanish protectorate, claiming property and establishing settlements throughout the region. Faced with such a large occupying force, Spain soon renounced its claims on the territory. But the local inhabitants of the area, which became known as the Western Sahara, did not want to be annexed by Morocco and fought against Hassan and his forces. Though Hassan's actions were condemned by the United Nations, he managed to turn the war into a popular rallying cry for the Moroccan people. Twenty years later, Moroccan forces still occupied the Western Sahara and the original occupants of the region still opposed the king and his policies. In 1996, the United Nations brought the two sides together, hoping to negotiate a settlement to the long conflict.

Over the years, Hassan's actions in the Western Sahara and elsewhere have made him a controversial figure in the international community. Known as an educated and often charming man, the king has proved adept at making friends abroad. He has also shown a talent for adjusting his policies and public statements to please a wide variety of interest groups at different times. Many Western leaders praised him for his stance against communism and his attempts to instill democratic principles in Morocco, while they also criticized his human rights record and his support of Middle Eastern terrorist groups.



King Hassan II speaking with French President Jacques Chirac (left) in Paris in March 1996

In 1982, Hassan was elected to head the Arab League, an influential organization whose members include the leaders of many nations in the Middle East and Africa. At the league's summit that year, he convinced the other Arab leaders to establish a set of conditions that would lead them to recognize the existence of Israel. Though in this instance Hassan aided the Middle East peace process, in the past he had supported the continuing hostilities most Arab nations waged against Israel. In 1986, Hassan became one of the few Arab heads of state to meet with the Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres. This action created an uproar in the Middle East and even led some shocked Arab leaders to accuse the king of treason. Hassan dismissed his critics by stating that they lacked the courage to make either war or peace with Israel. However, the controversy did cause him to step down from his post as secretary-general of the Arab League.

Another example of Hassan's ability to walk a political tightrope occurred during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, which saw a coalition of American-led United Nations forces come to the aid of the tiny, oil-rich nation of Kuwait when it was invaded by neighboring Iraq. Hassan pleased Western leaders when he sent a token group of 1,400 Moroccan soldiers to support the coalition forces in Saudi Arabia. Though Hassan made it clear that his troops were to be used strictly for defensive purposes, Morocco was still the only North

African country besides Egypt to come to Kuwait's aid. At the same time, however, Hassan sent humanitarian aid—such as food, clothing, and medical supplies—to the people of Iraq and called the notorious Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein his "dear Arab brother." In one speech, Hassan declared that while his mind was with the coalition fighting Iraq, his heart was with Hussein and the Iraqi people. By the time the war ended, Hassan had managed to both maintain his ties with Iraq and gain the appreciation of Western powers, many of whom responded by forgiving some of his foreign debt. "It required some amazing political agility," one political observer noted, "but somehow the king came out of the war stronger than he went in."

Trouble at Home

Morocco has become increasingly impoverished during Hassan's reign, partly due to the expense of the ongoing conflict in the Western Sahara. Though Hassan has repeatedly claimed that he is committed to ending poverty, he has continued to promote lavish construction projects like the $500 million Hassan II Mosque. The elaborate monument, which was built over a lagoon near the Atlantic Ocean and features a glass floor, was completed in 1992 using funds donated by Moroccan citizens. In the meantime, the average income for a Moroccan worker fell to just $700 per year, and the country accumulated one of the world's largest foreign debts at $20 billion.

In 1992, Hassan took another of his occasional steps toward democracy when he approved a new Moroccan constitution. Under the new constitution, human rights are guaranteed, the parliament has more power, and the prime minister is allowed to appoint the cabinet. Hassan made this commitment to improve Morocco's human-rights record, in part, because he recognized that many countries have begun to tie foreign aid to human rights. Though Hassan's government has released many political prisoners in recent years, international observers claimed that Morocco still needed to improve the way it treated citizens who did not support the king. In fact, a 1991 report by the human-rights organization Amnesty International cited more than 1,000 cases of torture, disappearance, and imprisonment without trial in Morocco.

Despite the problems his country faces, Hassan remains popular among many of the people of Morocco. Some citizens admire the prominent position he has attained in world politics, while others simply find him charming. In any case, the critics who predicted that he would not be able to remain in power have been proved wrong. As of 1996, in fact, Hassan was the longest-reigning monarch in Africa. "He's a survivor," one diplomat stated. "Combined with skill and luck, he has surmounted all opposition. The few he couldn't co-opt or coerce, he put in jail or worse, or they went into exile." A writer for the *New York Times* added that "the ruler's success at being different things to various sectors is regarded as the glue that holds his kingdom together."

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

King Hassan II married Lalla Latifa, the daughter of an aristocratic family, shortly after he ascended to the throne in 1961. Their children include two sons (Sidi Mohammed and Moulay Rachid) and three daughters (Lalla Mariam, Lalla Asmaa, and Lalla Hassnaa). Hassan's eldest son, Sidi Mohammed, has been designated as the heir to the throne. Hassan and his family spend time at each of their 11 castles, many of which feature beautiful, 18-hole golf courses that were designed especially for the king by an American architect.

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ADDRESS

Royal Palace
Rabat, Morocco

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Kenneth Kaunda 1924-

Leader of Zambian Independence Movement
Former President of Zambia

BIRTH

Kenneth Kaunda (kah-N-duh) was born on April 28, 1924, at a Church of Scotland mission in Lubwa, a village located in the northern province of Northern Rhodesia (which eventually became Zambia). His parents were David Julizgia Kaunda, a schoolteacher and Presbyterian minister, and Hellen Kaunda. Both parents were immigrants from Malawi. Kenneth was the youngest of eight children, three of whom died in infancy. As a young child, Kenneth was nicknamed "Bichizya" (unexpected

one); until Hellen learned that she was pregnant with him, she and her husband had assumed that they were done having children.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also

erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

HISTORY OF ZAMBIA

The land now known as Zambia was sparsely populated until tribes from present-day Angola and Zaire relocated there during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. These peoples, along with the region's original Bantu-speaking tribes, ruled the land until the 19th century, when European explorers discovered the area. Scottish adventurer David Livingstone was the first to arrive. He visited Zambia in 1851, and he later discovered Victoria Falls during his travels there. By the late 1800s the territory was under the control of the British South Africa Company of financier and trader Cecil Rhodes, who managed to sign treaties with many of its tribal leaders. These treaties benefited the company tremendously; conversely, they started the African natives' long slide into political powerlessness. In 1897 Great Britain recognized Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) as separate territories.

In 1924 Great Britain's government assumed control of Northern Rhodesia. By the late 1920s the discovery of huge copper deposits in the territory led many European colonists to settle there. Many African natives went to work in the copper mines that sprang up across the country, but they saw little of the wealth that the mining boom produced. By 1946 frustrated miners had formed a nationalist movement that called for the country's independence from European control. Instead, in 1953 Great Britain combined Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and Nyasaland (now Malawi) into a federation despite the objections of African nationalists. Activists in Northern Rhodesia protested the creation of the federation not only because they perceived it as an obstacle to independence, but also because they hated the white minority-controlled government of Southern Rhodesia.

YOUTH

Kaunda spent his early childhood in a warm and nurturing environment. His father's skillful work as a teacher and Presbyterian minister made him a

leader of the rural Lubwa community, and young Kaunda enjoyed being the son of such a highly regarded figure. His father died when Kenneth was only eight years old, though. David Kaunda's death made life more difficult for the family, but as writer John Hatch noted, Kenneth and his brothers and sisters "helped their mother to maintain the family life, which entailed working in the house and on the lands, carrying water for domestic needs from the nearest well—two miles away—grinding the millet, gathering firewood, washing cooking pots and clothes, building grain bins or chicken huts." In addition, the Lubwa community took David Kaunda's religious lessons very seriously; families of the region helped each other out whenever they could.

As Kenneth grew older, he became very interested in soccer (known as football in Africa) and music. His love for soccer led him to spend many hours running around the dusty fields of his home district, but he also enjoyed playing the guitar, and he played whenever he was able to borrow an instrument. "It soon became his favorite occupation to play tunes picked up by miners on the Copper Belt and brought back to the village," wrote Hatch. "He would play in the open at night whilst the rest danced to his music. Later he was to buy a guitar, his constant companion through many vicissitudes for over 30 years."

EDUCATION

Kaunda first attended school in Lubwa. Classes were held outdoors, and the lack of books or writing utensils made it necessary for the students to write their lessons in the sand at their feet. After a few years Kaunda was promoted to the next level of schooling, where he performed very well. The missionaries who operated the schools encouraged him, for they desperately needed additional teachers, and he was one of the most promising of their students.

In 1939 Kaunda began studying at the Lubwa Training School, an institution that provided instruction to prospective teachers. He studied there for two years, whereupon he left his home for the first time to take classes at the Munali Secondary School. "At Munali Kenneth came into his element," wrote Hatch. "For the first time he made the acquaintance of genuine science teaching, complete with a laboratory, and reveled in the new opportunity. His mathematics improved and, although disappointed to find that history was confined to a South African context, this subject and English literature were always a joy to him. When he found that he could continue his beloved football and add athletics to it, he really felt that Munali offered him a full life." His time in Munali also gave him a greater understanding of the racial segregation and discrimination that pervaded many African societies at that time. One teacher's tales of life in South Africa particularly bothered him. In South Africa, a tiny white minority had ruled the nation's black majority for several decades, making separation of the races official government policy. This prac-

tice, which was known as apartheid, denied civil, social, and economic equality to non-whites, and placed blacks in positions of political and economic subservience. Blacks were forced to live in miserable conditions of poverty in all-black homelands, with inadequate food, housing, medical care, and education. Forbidden to own land and barred from many occupations, they were required to carry permits at all times to travel to white areas to find work. Blacks had no political rights in South Africa, no right to vote, and no legal means to effect change. As Kaunda learned about the situation in South Africa, he began to wonder what he might do to change the situation in his own homeland.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

In 1943 the missionaries at Lubwa called Kaunda home, asking him to assume teaching duties there. Soon after his return, the 19-year-old Kaunda was named boarding master at the mission school. He was self-conscious about his standing among his fellow teachers, who were much older, but he performed well, and in 1944 he was made headmaster (principal) of the school. Two years later he married a local woman, and they soon started a family. In 1947 he left Lubwa to take a teaching job at a mission school in Southern Rhodesia. But as with South Africa, the laws of Southern Rhodesia relegated blacks to lives of social, political, and economic inferiority. Southern Rhodesia's mistreatment of its black population deeply shook and angered Kaunda, and his experiences there further solidified his growing nationalist views.

In 1948 Kaunda returned to Northern Rhodesia, where he became a welfare officer. He soon moved on to a headmaster's position at the school in the city of Mufulira. During his time at Mufulira he joined a teacher's association called the Chinsali African Welfare Association. This was a significant move, because welfare associations grew to become an important part of the push for independence in Northern Rhodesia. Hatch observed that in joining the association, Kaunda "became a member of one of the major pre-nationalist streams. Before long he was participating in discussions on issues affecting the welfare of Africans throughout the area, associating with resolutions sent to the District Commissioners or to the mission."

By 1949 Kaunda was determined to fight discrimination and segregation in Northern Rhodesia. He founded a farming co-operative called the Chinsali Young Men's Farming Association and helped establish the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (ANC), which was formed to work for independence from Great Britain's colonial grasp. By 1953—the year in which Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland were joined together in a white-ruled federation—Kaunda had been appointed ANC secretary-general for Northern Rhodesia. Kaunda bitterly criticized the new

union, which was called the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: "In central Africa a major constitutional change has been imposed against the expressed wish of some six million Africans in favor of a handful of reactionary white settlers. This imposition has only been possible because the imperialists count on the strength of the British troops which they are ruthlessly using in crushing down the national aspirations of the colonial peoples. . . . They have only managed to shelve the inevitable racial strife in central Africa. Serious trouble lies ahead. The imposition of Federation has made this trouble more certain than ever." A short time later he was arrested for possessing banned literature and imprisoned for two months.

Throughout the remainder of the 1950s Kaunda worked to secure greater rights for his African countrymen. In 1958 he broke ranks with the ANC in a dispute over organization strategy and established a new group, the Zambia Africa National Congress. Before long Kaunda's organization had an estimated 60,000-75,000 followers who heeded their leader's calls for nonviolent resistance to federation rule. Kaunda's belief in peaceful resistance was due in large part to his admiration for Mohandas Gandhi, the Indian spiritual leader whose campaign of peaceful disobedience led Great Britain to grant India its independence in 1947, and who had begun his political activism in South Africa in the 1920s.

In 1959 Kaunda was arrested once again for his organizing activities, which the authorities said were illegal. The government banned the Zambia Africa National Congress and exiled Kaunda to a remote area of the country. A short time after that they imprisoned him in Southern Rhodesia. Conditions at the prison were not terrible, but Kaunda nonetheless endured periods of severe illness during his stay there.

Kaunda was released from prison in January 1960. He was greeted by African natives who were furious with the results of federation elections that had taken place a few months before. Those elections had further concentrated power in the hands of a few whites at the expense of the black majority (it provided 22 seats in the legislature for 70,000 white settlers and only eight seats for more than three million Africans). Kaunda took advantage of this anger by forming a new organization, the United National Independence Party (UNIP). This group soon became hugely popular among the native population, even though it was banned in several sections of the country.

By 1961 Kaunda and other nationalists had launched an intensive campaign of peaceful strikes and acts of civil disobedience. The actions crippled the country. In March 1962 Great Britain offered a constitution that would give blacks greater legislative power in Northern Rhodesia. After the elections, which took place in October 1962, UNIP and the ANC formed a coalition that gave them the majority of legislative seats in the country's parliament.

In 1964 Kaunda's UNIP party took control of the legislature in country-wide elections, and Kaunda was named president. Several months later the country's name was officially changed to Zambia and it became a commonwealth. This meant that while the country was self-ruling, it would also remained politically allied to Great Britain. The independence that the natives had sought for so long had finally been won. Zambia was free.

President of Zambia

Kaunda got off to a fast start as Zambia's president, although he had to deal with a separatist religious movement in the country within months of assuming office. A religious sect called the Lumpa Church refused to recognize the new government's authority, and its members barricaded themselves in isolated villages. Kaunda reacted swiftly to this threat by outlawing the church, destroying the troublesome enclaves, and jailing the church's leader. After dealing with this crisis, he turned his attention to economic and social affairs.

Mindful of the poor state of education and health care in Zambia, Kaunda instituted a series of reforms that dramatically improved both areas. The country's economy thrived throughout his first years in office, too, bolstered by the high price of copper, Zambia's major export. But his decision to place agriculture and industry under the control of the central government proved deadly to the economy when copper prices fell. Starved for income, the Zambian economy dried up more with each passing year. Rural areas of the country proved unable to rise above subsistence farming, while Zambia's cities sagged under the weight of inflation, food shortages, and unreliable electrical and water service. Zambia's poor relations with the white-controlled government of neighboring Southern Rhodesia, with whom it shared transportation and hydroelectric resources, only added to the economy's problems.

Some people criticized the authoritarian nature of Kaunda's government as well. In 1972 he outlawed all opposition political parties and announced that Zambia would be a one-party state. He made this change because of his concern that bickering among Zambia's many political and ethnic factions was hurting the country, and he thought that the creation of a single-party system would provide some unity. But critics said that it was an unwise move that could lead to a dictatorship. These concerns proved well-founded over the years, for Kaunda came to assume great control over many aspects of the country, from its military to its news services and educational institutions. Yet supporters noted that Kaunda was a kind ruler in many respects. His deep religious faith guided him in many of his decisions, and even those who questioned the wisdom of his policies admitted that he always tried to act in the best interests of the Zambian people and the inhabitants of the greater African continent.

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For instance, Kaunda was one of the principal leaders of the fight against South Africa's apartheid government during the 1970s and 1980s. Year after year, he worked to gain greater rights for the oppressed black majority of that country. He even allowed members of the outlawed South African branch of the African National Congress to establish headquarters near his home. His decision to harbor these rebels against South Africa's white-controlled government placed him in significant danger from the South African military, but Kaunda felt that their proximity to his compound served as a potent symbol of his support for their efforts.

In 1980 the black majority in Southern Rhodesia finally assumed control of the government. Zambia's relationship with its southern neighbor—which was renamed Zimbabwe by the new government—improved considerably over the next few years as a result, but Zambia's economy remained crippled. By 1988 food shortages were common across much of the nation, and in 1990 a coup was attempted against the president. In June of that year, an army officer announced over the radio that Kaunda's government had been deposed. Richard Joseph noted that after the announcement was made, "thousands of Zambians poured into the streets to celebrate. Although the coup attempt quickly fizzled, it sent an unmistakable signal: the people were tired of the government, and they wanted change." Tensions in Zambia continued to rise, and growing numbers of citizens launched protests against the government. In 1991 Kaunda finally relented, announcing that other political parties would be allowed and that nationwide elections for a new government would be held. Later that year, Kaunda and his UNIP party were defeated in the elections by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, which gained 125 of the parliament's 150 seats.

Kaunda accepted the results of the election and retired, turning the presidency of Zambia over to Frederick Chiluba, a trade union leader. Many international observers noted that the transition marked one of the few times that an African leader had peacefully given up his position in the post-colonial era. For the next few years he lived quietly, caring for his wife Betty, who had suffered a stroke, and reading the Bible. His life was a simple one during this time, for he had not accumulated great wealth during his presidency (there have been reports, however, that other members of his family did use their social position to amass wealth unfairly).

In 1994 Kaunda reemerged as an outspoken critic of Chiluba's government, which was struggling in its efforts to improve Zambia's economy. "Zambia is now worse off economically and politically," he said. "We are going toward a catastrophe, and weak leadership is to blame." By 1995 he had returned to public life, giving speeches and trying to rebuild his political base. Twice that year he was arrested for addressing public rallies without appropriate authorization, and at one point the Zambian government even talked about deport-

ing him as an illegal alien since his parents had been immigrants from Malawi.

By 1996 Kaunda had regained some of the popularity that he had enjoyed during the height of his presidency. He made plans to run for the presidency in that year's elections, but the government banned him from running by passing a law that barred any candidate whose parents were not natives of Zambia. Outraged by this decision, UNIP and other Zambian political parties boycotted the election. Chiluba easily won re-election as a result, but analysts say that his government's treatment of Kaunda tainted his victory.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Kaunda married Betty (Mutinkhe) Kaweche in August 1946. They remain together, although Betty suffered a stroke in the early 1990s. During the course of their long marriage, the couple had many children—Panji, Wazamanzana, Nqeaweze, Tilyenji, Masuzyo, Kaweche, Musata, and Kambarage Cheswa.

HOBBIES AND OTHER INTERESTS

Kaunda is an avid reader of material ranging from American literature to the Bible. He continues to pursue his life-long interests in the guitar and soccer, and he also enjoys checkers, table tennis, and gardening.

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ADDRESS

United National Independence Party
P.O. Box 30302
Lusaka, Zambia

Jomo Kenyatta 1891?-1978

First President of Kenya

BIRTH

Jomo Kenyatta was born as Kamau wa Ngengi on October 20, around 1891 (the exact year of his birth is not known). He was born at Ngenda in what was then the British East Africa protectorate (a dependent province of England), but which later became the nation of Kenya. The dominant Kikuyu tribe into which he was born was the largest and most progressive tribe in Kenya. Kenyatta's family included his father, Muigai, a small farmer and herdsman; his mother, Wambui; his younger brother,

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Kongo; and his half-brother, James Muigai (from his mother's marriage to his paternal uncle Ngengi after his father's death).

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not cause that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in its industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also

erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

KENYAN HISTORY

Like many other regions of Africa, the natives of Kenya endured a long period of time when white Europeans controlled their lands. After Kenya became a British protectorate in the late 1800s, the British quickly built a railroad to make it easier to travel into Kenya's backcountry. By the early 1900s European settlers were pouring into the land. During the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, native Africans became increasingly unhappy with the situation in Kenya. Settlers from Europe and India took large sections of land that had previously belonged to the natives, and the society that they formed prevented blacks from determining their way of life. Before long these settlers controlled all the important government and business positions in the region, leaving blacks to try and support their families as subsistence farmers or manual laborers.

YOUTH

Kenyatta grew up during the time when British control over Kenya was at its peak. Known in childhood as Kamau, he is remembered by relatives as an ambitious and intelligent boy who often kept to himself. His family made its living by growing fruit, vegetables, and maize, and by keeping sheep and goats, which Kenyatta spent a great deal of his time herding. The land was an important part of the future leader's youth, and he learned to work it from his father, who taught him how to grow crops. Other native skills were also handed down from father to son, including how to make traps, light fires, collect honey, and recognize the trees that could be used to make poison for hunting arrows or to build huts. In addition to the skills of his tribe, Kenyatta learned the traditions of his ancestors through the stories his mother told him about the legendary founders of the Kikuyu.

Although his father died while he was still a young boy, Kenyatta and his mother were well taken care of by their extended family; it was an important Kikuyu custom that family always be looked after. Staying with his mother in

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the village, Kenyatta helped the women in their work and also continued to herd the flocks. Another influence on Kenyatta at this time was his grandfather, a medicine man who lived in a nearby village. His magic was used to heal the sick as well as to predict the future, and he sometimes allowed his grandson to help, teaching him about spells and charms.

It was while visiting his grandfather's village that Kenyatta saw a white man for the first time—a missionary from the village of Thogoto. Fascinated at first by the friendliness of this white man, who was nothing like the evil white men he had heard about in stories, Kenyatta was introduced to a new kind of magic when the missionary showed him how to write with pencil and paper. From this point on, Kenyatta wanted to learn the ways of the white strangers, so around 1909 he took the opportunity offered by the missionary to attend the mission school, despite the pressures from his family to stay with the tribe.

EDUCATION

The mission in Thogoto was run by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which had established it in an attempt to bring Christianity to the people of Africa. Kenyatta did not do particularly well in his studies, but he also caused no problems despite rough conditions. Every day was filled from beginning to end with exercises, work, lessons, prayers, games, and meals, a hectic schedule that caused a number of children to leave and return to their families. Kenyatta stayed on, though, and after close to three years of schooling he decided to take up carpentry, a craft he studied for another two years. By about 1914, Kenyatta was ready to experience the world. He looked forward to living and working in Nairobi, Kenya's major city, where he could also continue his education and learn more about the British.

In addition to his schooling, Kenyatta underwent two important ceremonies during his time at the mission school. The first was his Kikuyu initiation, which indicated his passage into adulthood and was comprised of a ceremonial circumcision and numerous celebrations. Around the same time, Kenyatta also decided to be baptized a Christian at the mission, taking the Christian name Johnstone Kamau.

FIRST JOBS

Leaving the mission school to seek his fortune in Nairobi, Kenyatta first worked for a while as a courier. It was in Nairobi that the young man met and married his first wife, Grace Wahu. The couple had a son, Mugai, soon after. Because the marriage had been conducted according to Kikuyu tradition, though, Kenyatta fell out of grace with the Christian church at this point. Determined to regain the church's favor and be married in a Christian cere-

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mony, Kenyatta worked hard. From 1921 to 1926, he worked for the city water department as a meter reader, and his success in this position allowed him to build his family their own hut.

This hut was so large that he turned part of it into a small shop called "Kinyata Stories." The name of the shop was taken from the *kinyata* (the Kikuyu name for a bright, beaded belt) that he always wore. As the shop became more popular as a meeting place, the owner eventually began to be known as Kinyata, or Kenyatta, himself. The name stuck, and several years later Kenyatta decided to Africanize his first name of Johnstone to "Jomo," a Kikuyu word that means "burning spear" or "the act of drawing a sword from a scabbard." Having proven himself a successful business and family man by this point, Kenyatta was accepted back into the church.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Lobbyist for the KCA

Kenyatta's interest in the self-government of the Kenyan people developed throughout the 1920s. He first entered politics in 1924 as a member of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), which opposed the taking of Kikuyu land by white settlers. He served as the editor of the organization's journal, *Muigwithania* (the first periodical in the Kikuyu language), for several years. By 1928, Kenyatta found himself in the position of general secretary. He traveled to London in 1929 to lobby on behalf of the KCA for three things: Kikuyu rights to lands they owned before the white settlers arrived; native representation on the Kenya Legislative Council; and the right to establish government-funded African schools. Since Kenya was still a British colony, the KCA could only gain these rights for Kenyans through an action of the British parliament.

Kenyatta visited Moscow in 1929 and traveled to Hamburg, Germany, in 1930 to attend the Communist-sponsored International Negro Workers' Congress before returning to Kenya. Upon this return in September 1930, Kenyatta immediately began promoting native government schools, an action that brought him into conflict with both church and colonial authorities. The KCA sent Kenyatta back to England in 1931, where he remained and studied for 15 years. In 1931 and 1932 he attended Woodbrooke College, a Quaker institution in Birmingham, England, to improve his English. And during part of 1932 and 1933 he attended Moscow University in the Soviet Union.

During his second stay in England, Kenyatta renewed his government contacts, presented his tribe's demands to the Colonial Office, and testified in front of the Kenya Land Commission. He also began writing and publishing a number of militant, radical articles that demanded self-rule for all of Africa and called for evacuation of the colonial settlers. A grant from the Inter-

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national African Institute and income from contributions to a textbook on Kikuyu language enabled Kenyatta to further his education by taking part in postgraduate studies in anthropology under Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The main product to come out of these studies was the influential book *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu.*

In *Facing Mount Kenya* Kenyatta presents Kikuyu society from his own experiences and perceptions of it. As a member of the last generation of Kikuyu culture untouched by Western influence, Kenyatta describes his culture's customs and practices as well as the spirit behind them. *Facing Mount Kenya* is a defense of the value of African society and all its rituals and traditions. Kenyatta accuses Westerners of ignoring the meaning behind the customs of his tribe, viewing them as exotic oddities instead. This first book had a great impact in England and is still considered a classic study of traditional African life. During this same time period, Kenyatta compiled several other works, including a study of Kikuyu language.

Kenyatta's first involvement in Pan-African affairs occurred in 1935. After Ethiopia was invaded by Italian forces that year, he helped organize the International African Friends of Abyssinia (Abyssinia was the ancient African name for Ethiopia) and served as its honorary secretary. He went on to become active in the International African Service Bureau, which was organized in 1937. At the end of World War II he joined a group of other activists—including the eventual leader of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, and African-American writer W.E.B. DuBois—in organizing the fifth Pan-African Congress. The conference, which took place in October 1945 under the theme "Africa for Africans," restated the anti-colonial message and laid the intellectual and strategic foundation for the goal of African unity.

Back in Kenya in the fall of 1946, Kenyatta returned his attentions to the African schools he had helped create, becoming vice-principal of the Independent Teachers' College at Githunguri. He became principal the following May. His political activities came to the forefront again in 1947 when he was elected president of the Kenya African Union (KAU), a intertribal party formed in 1944. In an effort to organize KAU into a strong political force, Kenyatta encouraged his people to keep their integrity and discipline while working hard to demand voting rights, bring an end to racial discrimination, and gain back the lands that were rightfully theirs.

From Prison to the Presidency

Feared by the British colonial authorities and settlers because of his growing power, Kenyatta and the KAU were soon linked to a terrorist group known as Mau Mau, which threatened to kill whites and their African supporters. Just

as quickly as the colonists had tried to link Kenyatta to the group, however, the leader disassociated himself and the KAU from it. "We do not know this thing Mau Mau," declared Kenyatta in 1952. "KAU is not a fighting union that uses fists and weapons." After a series of particularly violent actions from Mau Mau the British declared a state of emergency. Kenyatta was arrested and charged, along with five of his associates, with founding the terrorist

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group. The trial began on November 24, 1952. Although the government's case depended on one key witness who had been bribed, in April 1953 Kenyatta was found guilty of managing and being a member of Mau Mau. Sentenced to serve consecutive prison terms of seven and three years to be followed by restriction to a remote area, Kenyatta declared his innocence before being taken to Lokitaung prison in the desert of northwestern Kenya. During his six years there, he was forced to perform hard labor. After his release in 1959, he spent two years under house arrest in the remote northern Kenya town of Lodwar.

The British colonial rulers assumed that putting Kenyatta in prison would destroy the power of his organization. Instead, his followers engaged in vocal and sometimes violent protests against British rule the entire time their leader was in jail. As the time neared for Kenyatta's release, the British authorized a new constitution that gave Kenyans greater participation in the government by granting them seats in the Kenya Legislative Council. In 1960 a new party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), was formed with the jailed Kenyatta as president. In the election of 1961, KANU became the strongest party in the Kenya Legislative Council. But the group refused to accept the British constitutional reforms and participate in a coalition government while Kenyatta remained in jail. The power KANU now held convinced the colonial governor to give Kenyatta an unconditional release from prison on August 14, 1961. The leader triumphantly returned home to take over the role of president of KANU. The group then agreed to form a temporary coalition government — in which both the British and the Kenyans would participate — until the details of Kenyan self-government could be arranged.

The results of a special election in January 1962 enabled Kenyatta to become a member of the Kenya Legislative Council. He took the post of Minister of State for Constitutional Planning in the coalition government in April of that year. On June 1, 1963, Kenyatta became Kenya's first prime minister during the country's transition to independence. When Kenya adopted a new constitution on December 12, 1963, England formally granted the former colony its sovereignty.

Kenyatta convinced KANU's only opposing party (the Kenya African Democratic Union) and its leader (Ronald Ngala) to voluntarily dissolve in November 1964. The two parties had disagreed over whether Kenya should adopt a centralized government or whether various regions of the country should have greater autonomy and authority. After overcoming this opposition, Kenyatta became the first president of the Republic of Kenya on December 12, 1964. He rewarded Ngala with a cabinet position. The motto for Kenyatta's new government was *Harambee*, or "Let's all pull together."

Under Kenyatta's rule many forms of racial discrimination ended in Kenya, and Africans were placed in administrative positions at every level in the gov-

ernment. Britain even assisted Kenya in financing a huge land purchase in the White Highlands that allowed white settlers to sell their lands to the natives; most did so, realizing that land issues were the major grievance of the Africans. Those who bought the lands either built large plantations or subdivided their parcels into smaller plots to form cooperative farms. Government-financed technical training, scholarships, and other on-the-job training helped modernize the nation and brought Africans into the mainstream work force. Realizing that the Europeans and Asians who had resided in Kenya for many years were also important for the country's success, Kenyatta encouraged them to stay as long as they identified with the goals of Kenya's African majority. He also kept Europeans in some of his key government posts and in the civil service.

Kenyatta remained popular with Kenya's citizens throughout his career because he went after popular democratic goals. For example, he promoted private enterprise and a capitalistic economic system. A large portion of the national budget went toward education, and Kenyatta made free primary education available for all children. At the same time he was investing in Kenya's future through the education of its youth, Kenyatta also worked to conquer the disease and poverty in his country. Encouraging Africans to grow cash crops, Kenyatta funded this effort through the international community, obtaining loans for herbicides and plants, as well as expert technical advice. Throughout Kenyatta's presidency the economy of Kenya grew at a rate of eight percent a year. The stability and prosperity his policies produced helped attract foreign businesses and increase tourism. Still, Kenyatta was careful to maintain the cultural heritage of his country.

Thanks to his popularity, Kenyatta faced only one major political challenge during his presidency. In 1966 his vice president, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, was forced to resign after he was accused of accepting money from Communist China and using it to bribe members of the Kenyan government (Kenyatta himself was not suspected of accepting bribes). Odinga, who was a leader of the powerful Luo tribe, then formed a leftist opposition party, the Kenya People's Union. In 1969 a popular Luo politician named Tom Mboya was assassinated by a member of the Kikuyu tribe. Although the assassin was tried and executed, hostilities between the Luo and Kikuyu tribes continued and threatened to divide Kenya in half. Fearing a civil war, Kenyatta acted aggressively to set a curfew, detain Odinga and other agitators, and finally ban the Kenya People's Union Party. However, Kenyatta still held an open election that December, declaring that anyone who was a member of KANU could contest for a seat — even if they had formerly been a member of the opposition party. Although this action led to the defeat of many in Kenyatta's government, he was re-elected. A surface calm was maintained in Kenya for the remainder of Kenyatta's presidency, which included two more re-elections in 1974 and 1978.

During these second and third terms, however, the KANU party began to split. There were occasional rumors of corruption involving members of Kenyatta's government, including a few members of his large extended family. One political opponent died under mysterious circumstances after he raised questions about the ethics of several government officials. Rather than condemn the murder, Kenyatta warned his critics that more opposition would only lead to more bloodshed. "Kenyatta tolerated little opposition," according to Norbert Brockman in the *African Biographical Dictionary*. "Nevertheless, corruption was not extensive nor did Kenya become a repressive state. The press moderated itself and was generally uncensored, and there was widespread prosperity."

There were also some positive events that occurred near the end of Kenyatta's career. He established a new policy with neighboring countries that led to treaties ending disputes with Ethiopia and Somalia, and he also acted as mediator in the conflict between Tanzania and Uganda. At the same time, Kenyatta continued to oppose white rule in such areas as South Africa, the Portuguese colonies, and Rhodesia. He also helped found the Organization of African Unity and the East African Common Market.

When-Kenyatta died peacefully in his sleep on August 22, 1978, in Mombasa, Kenya, his hand-picked vice president, Daniel arap Moi, smoothly took over control of the Kenyan government. The new leader indicated that he would continue his predecessor's policies when he named his own program *Nyayo* or "footsteps." Despite the accusations of corruption his government faced toward the end of his career, Kenyatta is remembered as the father of Kenya's independence and an important figure in the struggle for black rule and economic autonomy in Africa. "Kenyatta made independent Kenya a showcase nation among the former African colonial states," Phillip E. Koerper wrote in *Historic World Leaders*. "He provided for peace and prosperity in his nation while improving health, education, agriculture, tourism, business, and manufacturing. . . . His enlightened policies turned Kenya into a 20th-century society."

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Kenyatta was married four times. His first marriage, to Grace Wahu, took place on November 28, 1922. The couple had a son, Peter Mugai, and a daughter, Margaret Wambui. Margaret became her father's closest confidante and helped him greatly during the time of his imprisonment. She was elected mayor of Nairobi in 1970. On May 11, 1942, Kenyatta was married to Edna Grace Clarke, a British schoolteacher and governess who remained in England when her husband returned to his native land. This second marriage produced one son, Peter Magana. Kenyatta's third wife, Grace, was the daughter of the late Kikuyu senior chief Koinange. She bore him a daughter, Jane Wambui, before she died while giving birth to a second child. During the

early 1950s, Kenyatta married the daughter of the Kikuyu chief Muhoho, Ngina, who was popularly known as "Mama Ngina." They had two sons, Uhuru and Muhoho, and a daughter, Nyokabi.

Until the end of his life, Kenyatta resided with his fourth wife on his estate at Ichaweri, in the Gatundu district, near his birthplace.

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Winnie Mandela 1934-

Leader in the African National Congress
Ex-Wife of South African President Nelson Mandela

BIRTH

Winnie Mandela was born Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela on September 26, 1934, in Pondoland, part of the Transkei region of South Africa. Nomzamo means "one who strives or undergoes trials," and Winnie is the nickname she has been known by since childhood. There is no written record of Winnie's birth because birth registration was not required in the region at that time. Winnie was the fifth child of Columbus and Gertrude Madikizela. She had two older brothers, Christopher and Lungile, and

two older sisters, Viyelwa and Nancy. Her father taught history at the local school and also represented the Pondoland in the territorial council. Her mother, also a teacher, was a deeply religious woman who died of tuberculosis when Winnie was nine years old. According to tribal custom, children are sent to live with relatives if their mother dies. Winnie's father could not bear to part with his children, though, so he raised them alone.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

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By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

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Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID

Prior to the 16th century, South Africa was home only to African natives such as the Xhosa tribe, from which the Madikizela family descended. During the 1500s, though, European settlers began to arrive on the region's shores. The Dutch East India Company established the first permanent European settlement in 1652 at what became Cape Town. Some employees known as Boers (farmers) expanded into the countryside to start their own farms; these South Africans of Dutch descent are also known as Afrikaners.

By the beginning of the 18th century, about 1,750 settlers, including French and German immigrants, had made their homes in South Africa. These settlers relied on slave labor to tend their fields, so they brought Asian slaves to do much of the farm work. After awhile, though, the Boers decided that they needed more workers, so they began to enslave native Africans. As the European population grew, a series of wars broke out between the Xhosas and the settlers over land rights.

In 1814 Great Britain, which was very powerful, took possession of the territory from the Dutch. Then 19 years later, the British abolished slavery in the region. This step deeply angered the Boers, who claimed that they needed slaves to keep their farms operating. As a result, some 12,000 Boers left the Cape Town area and headed inland to establish their own republics. The next few years were very violent, for the Boers clashed with a number of powerful African kingdoms who distrusted these strange white men. By the early 1850s, though, the Boers had established two independent republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

During the second half of the 19th century, the Boers repeatedly clashed with Great Britain over land and mining rights, in part because spectacular deposits

of diamonds and gold had been found in the region. These conflicts culminated in the South African War (also known as the Boer War), which began in 1899. By 1902 the Boers were finally defeated by Britain's superior firepower, and both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State became British colonies. Within a few years, though, the two colonies were combined with two other British possessions in southern Africa—Natal and the Cape Colony—to form a self-governing country within the British Empire that became known as South Africa. The next few decades brought great economic development to the whites of South Africa. Native blacks, though, found that the laws gave them hardly any rights or opportunities to better their lives.

South Africa finally gained independence from Britain in 1931 after fighting with the Allies in World War I. It continued to prosper economically, but its white leadership also continued to treat blacks unfairly. The policy of apartheid, or "separate development," was officially established in South Africa in 1948, as the white government declared that whites and Africans differed so greatly that they should develop separately. This policy formally segregated the nation by race. Not only were whites kept apart from nonwhites, but blacks, Asians, and people of mixed race were classified differently and kept apart from each other. Interracial marriage was banned, and in some cases families whose members came from different racial backgrounds were separated.

Under apartheid, black South Africans were divided into 10 distinct tribes and homelands and officially relegated to inferior social and economic positions in the country. For example, the homelands set aside for black South Africans, who made up 75 percent of the population, comprised only 14 percent of the country's total land, and most of it was of poor quality and unsuitable for farming. Since the land could not support the people, many lived in desperate poverty. Meanwhile, whites retained control of the most prosperous land, as well as the major cities. Though blacks had some rights within their homelands, their activities were strictly curtailed everywhere else. Most particularly, they were not allowed to enter white areas and they were required to carry identification cards at all times.

Whenever blacks rose up in protest against the government's apartheid policies, the rebellions were put down with force and the people involved were thrown in jail or worse. One of the most vocal forces against apartheid was the African National Congress (ANC), a black political organization founded in 1912. Despite the work of the ANC, however, the gap between the wealthy, educated whites and the poor, powerless blacks of South Africa grew more pronounced with each passing year. Eventually the repressive policies of the South African government came to the attention of the world community, and apartheid was condemned by the United Nations in 1961.

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MAJOR INFLUENCES

Growing up under a political system that was unfair to blacks, Winnie Mandela was strongly influenced by her father, Columbus Madikizela. This was partly due to the Xhosa culture, which holds the father to be sacred. In addition, Mandela's intellectual prowess gave her a special place in her father's heart. His influence on her can be seen in a number of areas. For example, he encouraged his children to take pride in their race and to educate themselves to the highest degree. He also served as a role model in his fight with school authorities to improve conditions for his impoverished students. Contrary to the official curriculum of the white-led South African government, he also taught South African history from the Xhosa viewpoint. This view held that the South African land had been stolen from the Xhosa. The Xhosa were actually great military strategists who used only spears to defend themselves against the foreigners. In the end, however, they had been driven from the land and forced to pay taxes. This, in turn, forced them to become migrant laborers in order to make their tax payments, which disrupted their way of life. These tales instilled Mandela with a fierce resentment of injustice.

Despite her father's teachings, Mandela witnessed his own helplessness in the face of apartheid during a trip to an Afrikaner-owned store when she was 13. While Mandela and her father waited to purchase their items, a black farmer and his wife ahead of them in line were trying to quiet their screaming child. An Afrikaner boy checking their order flew into a rage at the family, shouting that he would not have any kaffirs (a derogatory term for Africans) disrupting the store. Although the store was filled with Africans who had journeyed into town to pick up supplies, no one spoke in the family's defense, including Columbus Madikizela.

EDUCATION

In her grade school, Mandela was always at the top of her class. Her somewhat privileged background as the daughter of two teachers provided her with access to many books. Her father recognized her intelligence early on and supported her efforts. Her elementary studies were interrupted briefly when she was 12 due to overcrowding in the schools. At that time, she became a full-time worker in the fields. When she returned to her studies five months later, it was to a new school in Ndunge. Since it was too far to commute each day, Mandela stayed with her maternal grandparents. She worked hard to catch up and was one of 22 students who passed the primary school exam. This enabled her to go on to the Emfundisweni Secondary School in Bizana, where for the first time in her life she would wear shoes. It has been said that the pride she felt in her school attire—new shoes and an oversized boy's overcoat—instilled in her a love for fashion that has been evident throughout her life.

After she passed her secondary exam (known as a Junior Certificate), Mandela learned that her father planned to send her to a college in Johannesburg, the Hofsmyer School, that was training African students to become social workers. He felt that with her combination of intelligence and concern for others, this vocation was the right one for her and would enable her to assist her own people. In preparation for the competitive entrance exam, Mandela attended Shawbury High School, a Methodist Mission boarding school in Qumbu. This required some sacrifice on the part of her family. Her older sister Nancy, who also believed in Winnie's abilities, took on odd jobs and sent her money for school supplies and books.

Many South African liberation leaders were schooled at Shawbury and other mission schools during this time. They offered a full curriculum that included literature, history, and mathematics. These schools later closed down rather than conform to a restricted curriculum brought about by the Bantu Education Act of 1954. The act reduced the curricula to such studies as gardening, woodwork, and crafts, and was designed to keep Africans subservient by leaving them untrained for anything other than menial labor.

When Mandela attended Shawbury during 1951 and 1952, however, its teaching staff was made up of African activists. They taught African pride and publicized government actions against Africans. For example, Mandela and her friends learned about the Defiance Campaign against apartheid led by the Youth League of the ANC. To bring attention to their cause, volunteers committed nonviolent acts of defiance, such as entering areas labeled "Europeans Only" and staying out past the curfew for Africans. The leaders of the Youth League were Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and Walter Sisulu. In response to this campaign, a group of Shawbury students planned their own acts of defiance by striking against poor facilities and housing. But young Winnie, conscious of the sacrifices her family made for her education, did not participate. Students who did participate were expelled and told to reapply for admission next term. During this stressful period, Mandela managed to pass her entrance exam with flying colors.

At 16, Mandela enrolled in the Hofsmyer School in Johannesburg to begin training as a social worker. She was the first student from rural South Africa to attend. Again, she excelled in the classroom. Her political education was furthered here, too, as most of the students were members of the ANC. Although Mandela did not actively participate in protests, she learned as much as she could about the events unfolding. At some point during this time, she joined the Federation of South African Women, which was allied with the ANC.

Following her graduation from Hofsmyer in 1957, Mandela won a scholarship to study for an advanced degree in sociology in the United States. She turned this opportunity down, however, in order to work at the Baragwanath

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Hospital in Soweto as the first black medical social worker in South Africa. She remained at the women's hostel where she had lived during her time at Hofsmyer, moving to a section for working women. Here, she befriended Adelaide Tsukudu, who would later marry Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela's law partner and co-leader in the ANC.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Marriage to Nelson Mandela

It is difficult to separate Winnie Mandela's personal life from her life as the wife of Nelson Mandela, one of the most prominent political activists of the 20th century. Nelson Mandela was born in the Transkei region of South Africa in 1918. His political activities began during his years as an undergraduate student at Fort Hare University College, when he organized a strike to protest the limitations imposed on the power of the student council. After earning his law degree from the University of South Africa in 1942, Mandela became deeply committed to ending the repressive and brutal apartheid policies that kept blacks in inferior positions in South African society. He helped form the Youth League of the ANC in 1944, and six years later he became its president. In 1956 Mandela and a number of other activists were arrested and charged with treason for resisting apartheid laws, such as those that required blacks to travel only in certain areas and carry identification passes at all times. After a trial that lasted longer than any other in South African history, he was cleared of the charges for lack of evidence in 1961. In the meantime, however, the white-minority government outlawed the ANC.

Winnie first met Nelson Mandela in 1957. She was waiting at a bus stop when Adelaide Tsukudu and Oliver Tambo stopped by in their car, on their way to meet Nelson at a cafe. Winnie joined them, and the next day Nelson asked her to dinner. Nelson was married at the time but was attracted by Winnie's charisma and dedication. After he obtained a divorce, they were married on June 14, 1958. Since his treason trial was still going on at this time, Nelson was allowed only four days' leave for the celebration. From the start of their relationship, he told Winnie that while he loved her, his goal of achieving a democratic South Africa would always come first. They had two daughters, Zenani (born in 1958) and Zindzi (born in 1960), who would grow up without their father and sometimes without their mother due to the Mandelas' political commitments, which ultimately led to a turbulent family life.

Political Beginnings

Winnie Mandela was totally dedicated to both her husband and his life's work, which made their partnership both personal and political. Shortly after

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their marriage, Winnie was arrested for participating in a demonstration against the identification passes that Africans were required to carry at all times. At the time of her arrest, she was pregnant with their first daughter, Zenani. Winnie's arrest resulted in her being dismissed from her position with the Baragwanath Hospital. This was just the first of many hardships that would affect the family.

After the South African government banned the ANC, Nelson Mandela went underground and founded the ANC's militant wing, Unkhanto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"). His actions in defiance of the government soon made him the most wanted man in the country. He managed to avoid capture for 17 months by moving around frequently and wearing disguises, but he was finally arrested near the seaport city of Durban in 1962. Afterward, the South African Security Police raided ANC headquarters and discovered the organization's plans to destabilize the government. At the end of another lengthy trial, Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life in prison for sabotage and conspiracy against the government. He was thrown in jail on harsh, isolated Robben Island on June 11, 1964, just six years after he and Winnie were married. This was the last time for more than 20 years that the Mandelas would have physical contact with one another.

In the early years following Nelson's arrest, Winnie was a political novice. "I was not ready at that stage for what lay ahead of me," she admitted. "And I was feeling a sense of despair, not only for myself but for my organization as well. It did cross my mind that with the sentencing of the leadership to life imprisonment, wasn't this the end to our struggle?" Before long, however, she realized that it would be up to her to continue working toward her husband's dream of a democratic South Africa. "I realized that unless I kept [Nelson's] name alive, I feared his extinction politically," she recalled. "I feared that the racist apartheid regime was so vicious that it would've been the end of the African National Congress, and half of them would perish in prison." Winnie then began a tireless campaign aimed at freeing her husband and abolishing apartheid. One of her first acts was to organize a group of women who wrote letters to political prisoners. On May 12, 1969, Winnie and her group were arrested under the Terrorism Act of 1969, which banned known opponents of the government from associating with each other. She was convicted and spent 17 months in solitary confinement. After her release, the family was harassed constantly by policemen who searched their house without warning or spied on them in pursuit of information on the ANC. Winnie was also forbidden from communicating with more than one person at a time in order to limit her ANC activities. She was arrested so frequently that she kept a small suitcase packed with necessities near the front door. Her daughters have said that they grew up expecting to be awakened by a loud knock on the door in the middle of the night.

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During the 1970s, increasing numbers of black South Africans were drawn to political militancy as a means to protest the brutal policies of apartheid. Winnie Mandela continued to participate in the ANC and served as an executive member of the Federation of South African Women. In the summer of 1976, schoolchildren in Soweto held peaceful demonstrations over a new regulation that forced African schoolchildren to use Afrikaans (the language spoken by Dutch Afrikaners) rather than English. In response, policemen shot and killed between 600 and 1,000 children. Many others disappeared, presumably captured and killed by government forces. Mandela helped to form an activist group for the parents of the schoolchildren. She urged them to fight for their own rights instead of leaving it to their children to do so. The group's main purpose, however, was to provide support to the families following the violence. Mandela was arrested for her role in the organization, and in December 1976 she was banished to a rural black township, Brandfort, in the Orange Free State.

Mother of the Nation

Although she was removed from the action in Soweto, Winnie remained politically active and continued to be harassed by the Afrikaner government. In fact, her house in Brandfort was bombed several times by her political opponents. Since Nelson had been imprisoned for many years at this point, Winnie became a popular figure among the radical youth born after her husband's imprisonment. They called her the "Mother of the Nation" and felt that she symbolized the struggle for racial justice in South Africa. Over time, Winnie became more radical in her approach and knocked heads with more conservative thinkers in the ANC. She claimed that her radical political leanings were due to her sympathy for the poorest sectors of South African society. "Of all the [ANC] leadership, I have been closest to the ground," she stated. "I have worked with squatter camps, I have worked with the youth, I have worked with the women, and I am well versed with all the layers of our society." Following a third bombing of her house in Brandfort, Mandela returned to Soweto, moving into a mansion surrounded by the shacks that make up the slums of Soweto.

By the 1980s, different factions within South Africa were at odds over methods for achieving racial equality. Some within the ANC were directing a "people's war" against the government and Africans who served as government spies. Winnie joined the controversy by advocating violence. This was in direct refutation of the nonviolent principles espoused by Nelson Mandela. During a speech televised internationally, Winnie declared, "With our necklaces and matchsticks, we will liberate South Africa." This referred to a South African practice of killing suspected government spies. Their opponents placed a burning tire, or "necklace," around their necks, thereby burning them alive. The results of this torture were gruesome. Winnie also cultivated a

group of young people as bodyguards who became known as the Mandela United Football Club. As "people's warriors," the members of the club terrorized the surrounding Soweto neighborhood in a crime spree that lasted for years, including the rape of a young girl in 1988. By this point Winnie Mandela had become a very controversial figure. Some people believed that any means necessary—including violence—were justified in working for the freedom of South Africa, and they saw her as a hero. Yet many others decried the violence and criticized Mandela for her role in it. To them, she had lost all credibility as a leader.

By the mid-1980s, mass revolts against apartheid were occurring throughout South Africa. During this time, Nelson Mandela's influence and reputation continued to grow. As many young South African activists spent time in jail with him, Robben Island came to be known as "Nelson Mandela University" because of his influence on young prisoners. In 1987, members of the ANC and Afrikaner apartheid opponents signed a joint manifesto calling for Nelson Mandela's release from prison. International pressure began to mount as well, as countries around the world refused to do business with South Africa as long as it practiced apartheid. Many nations applied this type of international trade restriction, known as economic sanctions, in order to convince the

South African government to change its policies. Since the sanctions prevented South Africa from exporting its products or importing products made in other countries, these measures cost the government a great deal of money.

Finally, in response to the building internal and external pressures, Nelson Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. His release was made possible through the efforts of a new South African president, F. W. de Klerk. This ended 28 years of forced separation for Nelson and Winnie. Nelson immediately left on an international tour to garner support for the ANC. Upon his return to South Africa, he called for unity between the different groups working for freedom.

Kidnapping Charges

In 1991, Winnie Mandela was charged with kidnapping in the 1988 case of Stompie Moeketse Seipei, a 14-year-old suspected police informant who had been held in her home and was later found murdered. A member of the Mandela United Football Club was found guilty of the murder and sentenced to life in prison. Though Winnie was apparently not home at the time of the murder, she was sentenced to six years in prison for authorizing the kidnapping. "My deepest regret is that I failed Stompie and that I was unable to protect him from the anarchy of those times," she stated at the time. Before she served any time in prison, however, her sentence was reduced to a fine. There is some evidence to suggest that her sentence was reduced in order to eliminate political tension or possible violence prior to the first democratic elections in South Africa. While Nelson stood by his wife and proclaimed her innocence, the couple separated in 1992.

Winnie continued to clash with the leadership of the ANC. The controversy surrounding her activities caused the organization to view Winnie as a political liability and seek to distance themselves from her. In addition, the ANC Women's League accused her of making decisions without consulting them. This controversy caused close to half of the members of the League to quit in protest. In 1993, Winnie was suspended from League membership by Albertina Susulu, the wife of Walter Sisulu, after criticizing ANC leadership. But as she had done so often before, Winnie showed her ability to maintain her political clout. Despite (or perhaps because of) her activities with the Football Club, she remained popular with radical African youth. She began to cultivate her own political following under the mantle of Chris Hani, an ANC leader respected by township youth. She had regained her position in Women's League by late 1993, and she was elected to the parliament in the first free national elections, held in April 1994, which also saw Nelson Mandela defeat de Klerk for the presidency. When Nelson and his ANC Party took control of the government, it marked the first time that the black majority held power in South Africa since colonial times. One of the first tasks un-

dertaken by the new government was to change the country's constitution to abolish apartheid.

End of a Partnership

As South Africa welcomed a new government, and the end of apartheid, relations between Winnie and Nelson remained strained. Winnie was not invited to her husband's inaugural party, and Albertina Sisulu was selected to formally nominate Nelson for president. In recognition of her strong political following, however, Winnie was given a cabinet position within Nelson's administration as Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology. She was again shadowed by controversy, though, as police investigated her role in a kickback scheme with a nonprofit group she led. On March 27, 1995, Winnie was dismissed from her cabinet post after she criticized the government's approach to social reform and allegedly made an unauthorized trip abroad.

The marriage of Winnie and Nelson Mandela ended in April 1996. Nelson had asked for a divorce the previous year, but Winnie had refused to grant him one. The couple was divorced only after Nelson accused Winnie of being unfaithful to him during lengthy court proceedings, when a newspaper revealed a romantic letter she had written to her lawyer.

Despite her troubles, Winnie Mandela has retained her grass-roots popularity—which is a close second, some followers say, to her husband's. As Africans have gained more power in South Africa, she has become a spokesperson for the uneducated and disenfranchised part of society, while Nelson and the ANC have worked from a more conservative power base. Some observers believe that the Mandelas' different political philosophies could lead to a showdown between them over the next several years. Although, as Bill Keller of the *New York Times* pointed out, "If her challenge is to outwait her 76-year-old husband, Mrs. Mandela has one advantage: she is 16 years younger."

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Winnie married South African political activist Nelson Mandela on June 14, 1958. They had two daughters, Zenani (born in 1958) and Zindzi (born in 1960). Just a few years after their marriage, Nelson was put in jail for his political beliefs, and the couple remained apart for the next 28 years. They formally separated in 1992 and were divorced in April 1996. In September of that year, Nelson became romantically involved with Graca Machel, the widow of President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

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ADDRESS

Orlando West
Soweto, Transvaal
South Africa

Mobutu Sese Seko 1930-

President of Zaire

BIRTH

Mobutu Sese Seko (pronounced muh-BOO-too SAY-say SAY-koh) was born on October 14, 1930, in Lisala, a town in the northwestern section of the Belgian Congo, a country now known as Zaire. His birth name was Joseph-Désiré Mobutu; it was only later in life that he took the Africanized name Mobutu Sese Seko (his full name became Mobutu Sese Seko Nkuku wa za Banga). His parents were Marie-Madeleine Yemo, also known as "Mama Yemo," and Alberic Bemany, a cook and domestic servant who died when his son was eight years old.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the natives. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded

into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

THE BELGIAN CONGO

Mobutu was born in a region of Africa that had long been controlled by European forces. Back in 1885, explorers operating under the banner of Belgian King Leopold II had brought previously autonomous native tribes under control, and a large area of central Africa was proclaimed to be a colony of Belgium. With the region formally under the control of their king, Belgian officials and businessmen quickly set up systems designed to harvest the rich mineral resources of the Belgian Congo, as it came to be known. These resources included copper, gold, and diamonds.

Belgium got rich from its holdings in the Congo, while native laborers were brutally overworked. Death and torture became commonplace, and some sources estimate that the region's population may have been cut by as much as eight million people over the course of Belgium's first 20 years of rule. Finally, even other European nations, who typically did not show much concern for African peoples, began to object to the conditions in the Belgian colony, which Leopold still personally controlled. By 1908, though, criticism had grown so great that the Congo was turned over to the Belgian government for administration. The situation improved after that, but even in the 1930s and 1940s, when Mobutu was growing up, Belgians controlled the region. Belgians and other Europeans in the area continued to enjoy much greater educational, economic, and social opportunities than the native Africans, whose ancestors had lived there for hundreds of years.

YOUTH

Mobutu's childhood was marked by confusion and instability. After his father's death in 1938, his mother chose to place her family under the protection of her husband's tribe, the Ubangi. They relocated to the village of Gbadolite, joining relatives who already lived there. One of these relatives was Mobutu's uncle, Sese Seko. His uncle was a well-known warrior and leader in the village, and when Mobutu decided to change his name later in life, he added his uncle's name to his own.

Young Mobutu grew comfortable with life in the village. But he was unable to stay in Gbadolite for very long. In accordance with tribal custom, Mobutu's

mother was expected to marry one of her husband's brothers. Yemo refused to do so, though, and the resulting tension convinced her to move on. Mobutu and his mother spent the next few years moving from village to village.

EDUCATION

Mobutu's early education at the mission schools of the region was interrupted by his frequent moves, but his teachers could tell that he was an intelligent child. Unfortunately, around the same time, he also became known as a disruptive and bullying presence in the classroom. At age 10, Mobutu entered junior high school at Mbandaka. This school was the first of many Catholic missionary schools that he attended in junior high school and high school. The instructors at these schools often had to discipline him for his rowdy behavior. But even though he had many run-ins with teachers and school administrators, Mobutu performed well enough academically to be selected by Belgian authorities to attend the Institut d'Etudes Sociales de l'Etat in Brussels, Belgium. This was a big honor for Mobutu, since very few Congelese people were invited to study at the institute. In 1949, after a year in Belgium, Mobutu returned home as one of the Congo's best-educated native-born people.

Mobutu went back to school, but in 1950 he finally went too far in his clashes with school officials. After attacking a school principal, Mobutu was expelled and forcibly conscripted into the Force Publique, the Belgian-led colonial army. He spent the next several years in the military.

The Force Publique was controlled by Belgian officers, but composed primarily of Congolese enlisted men. Mobutu's education and his ability to speak French (which was also spoken by the Belgian officers) enabled him to pursue opportunities that were not available to other soldiers. He received special training in accounting and clerical work, and when he was discharged in 1956, he had achieved the rank of sergeant-major. This was the highest ranking that a Congolese could attain in the Force Publique.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

After leaving the army, Mobutu became a journalist. He had completed freelance writing assignments for several newspapers during his time in the military, so he already had some experience in the field. In addition, he was highly educated for a Congolese man, and he had performed well in the Force Publique. With all these factors in his favor, Mobutu had little trouble getting a job.

Mobutu quickly took a writing position with a newspaper called *L'Avenir*, which was published in Leopoldville. After spending a few months at this newspaper, Mobutu moved on to the *Actualites Africanes*, where he impressed

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his supervisors with his writing ability and hard work. Numerous promotions followed, and by 1958 he was editor-in-chief of *Actualites Africanes*.

During this same period, Mobutu also joined the growing Congolese effort to gain independence from Belgium. In 1958 he joined the newly formed Mouvement National Congolais (MNC), a pro-independence party, and established himself as a supporter of Patrice Lumumba, one of the MNC's leaders. Lumumba quickly came to view Mobutu as one of his most important allies, and he appointed him to a number of key positions over the next several months.

In January 1960 Mobutu was named a delegate to an important MNC conference. This gathering, known as the Round Table Constitutional Conference, had been called to discuss a framework for establishing the Belgian Congo as an independent nation. But even the most optimistic delegates at the conference had to be surprised at the speed with which events unfolded over the next few months. In early 1960 Belgium, which had ruled the region for nearly a century, announced that the Congo would be granted its independence on June 30 of that year.

By the long-awaited day, the Congolese independence movements had reached an agreement for the nation's first native-led government. A Congolese man named Joseph Kasavubu was named president of the nation, while Lumumba was appointed prime minister. As a friend of Lumumba, and an educated man with military experience, Mobutu was named to head up the country's defense forces.

The Congolese people were excited about their independence, but they had a long, hard road ahead of them. Long-dormant tribal differences sprang up in the form of new political parties, and the lack of education among the Congolese people made it even more difficult to establish a working government.

Eight days after independence was proclaimed, the Congolese army revolted and the country was thrown into chaos. The relationship between Prime Minister Lumumba and President Kasavubu disintegrated into a power struggle, two provinces declared independence, and many of the Belgian residents who had decided to stay changed their minds and fled the country. On September 14, 1960, Mobutu used his influence in the military to stage a coup and assume control over the government.

Mobutu acted quickly to solidify his hold on the country. Using his military muscle, he expelled the many Soviet political and economic advisers that Lumumba had invited to the Congo. Lumumba had wanted to ally the Congo with the Soviets rather than Western nations like the United States, but Mobutu disagreed with this position. Shortly after the Soviet advisors had

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been kicked out of the country, Mobutu's forces arrested Lumumba. In February 1961, it was announced that Lumumba had been killed trying to escape. A few days later, Mobutu returned the government to ousted President Kasavubu.

Though Mobutu let Kasavubu return to power, it was clear to everyone that the military leader remained an influential force in the country. Kasavubu promoted Mobutu to major general and made him commander in chief of the armed forces. For the next several years, Mobutu focused his energy on improving the Congolese military. He stated that the military would stay out of politics, but he also warned politicians not to interfere with army matters.

Mobutu the Dictator

In 1964 United Nations troops, who had been called into the Congo to help keep the peace back in 1961, finally left the region. After their departure, though, the country once again fell apart as different factions maneuvered for control. On September 25, 1965, Mobutu stepped in for the second time and took over, mindful that his control over the army made him the most powerful man in the country. "The race for the top is finished," he told the Congolese people after taking over. "Our political leaders had engaged in a sterile struggle to grab power without consideration for the welfare of the citizens." He went on to promise that he would end corruption, build national unity, and promote economic development all across the nation. In 1966 Mobutu assumed the position of prime minister; a year later he named himself president as he established a presidential form of government in the Congo.

Over the next few years, Mobutu tightened his control over the country. Soon after grabbing the presidency, he banned all political parties except his own Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution, which all citizens were required to join. He stripped the parliament of almost all of its legislative power, and appointed his allies to important positions all across the country. Mobutu also established a large police force dedicated to assuring his continued control over the nation.

In 1971 Mobutu launched a program to "Africanize" the country. He vowed to erase the European-style names that the Belgians had given to its streets, buildings, and cities. As part of this program, the Democratic Republic of the Congo was renamed the Republic of Zaire, and Mobutu changed his own name from Joseph-Desire Mobutu to Mobutu Sese Seko Nkuku wa za Banga, which means "all-conquering warrior who goes from triumph to triumph." At the same time, he made all Zairians drop their European names and adopt African names. Since many of these European names were regarded as Christian names, the Catholic Church objected to this new rule. As tensions

rose between church leaders and Mobutu's government, Cardinal Joseph Malula was forced into exile and various Catholic programs and institutions were shut down or changed by the government.

During the early 1970s, observers agree, Mobutu also emerged as an incredibly arrogant ruler. Many say that he began to see himself as the personification of Zaire. As Alan Cowell wrote in the *New York Times* in 1992, Zaire "was—and is—a place of evil, decay and fascination. For a long time, Mobutu was Zaire, the master practitioner of the political alchemy that turns a single personality into a national emblem. He was the nation. His words were the nation's truth, propagated by slavish newspapers that placed his picture on every front page. Servile television and radio stations made his every doing the first item of news. To question him was to deny the very essence of nationhood, to commit treason."

Mobutu's dictatorship established order in the country, but his government soon became infamous for its corruption and ruthless determination to remain in power. On one occasion, in 1977, Mobutu's personal security force went to a remote section of Zaire, the location of a small religious group that opposed his policies. Mobutu's men killed hundreds of defenseless people in the ensuing attack. Many other Zairians who have opposed him have disappeared in the prisons of the country's police force, and most of these people

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are presumed dead. Zaire's government has also been accused of torturing prisoners, many of whom are thrown into jail on the flimsiest charges. Human rights organizations have long protested against Mobutu's violent treatment of his country's citizens, but to no avail.

The economy of Zaire suffered in Mobutu's hands, too. Zaire is a country blessed with tremendous natural resources. Copper, cobalt, diamonds, and gold are all present in large quantities, and the region has enough hydroelectric potential to power most of Africa. But during Mobutu's years in power, he paid little attention to the economy. As a result, high inflation, a large national debt, and currency devaluation all cropped up, severely hampering economic growth. At the same time, Mobutu stole millions of dollars from the government. By the 1980s government corruption and bribery were so widespread that legitimate businesses and the people of Zaire were left with little capital. Mobutu's greed was so great that many people believe that he became one of the world's richest people. In 1985 *Forbes* magazine estimated that his fortune was worth about $5 billion.

But Mobutu was able to hold on to power. He was very good at neutralizing those who might oppose him, and he often bribed potential enemies over to his side. During the 1970s and 1980s, many groups and individuals tried to push him from the presidency, either through coup attempts or by proposed governmental reforms. Mobutu, though, was able to withstand all of these challenges.

Zaire and the "Cold War"

Most observers believe that Mobutu's friendship with the United States was a major reason why he was able to hold on to power over the decades. From the end of World War II until 1989, a "Cold War" existed between the communist-led Soviet Union and its allies and the democratic United States and its Western European allies. Both sides were competing to establish their political philosophies and expand their spheres of influence in Africa and other regions of the world. Mobutu's anti-communist attitudes made him very popular with the United States, which rewarded him with millions of American dollars in aid and military weapons. This situation continued for years. Even though it was clear that Zaire was in trouble with Mobutu at the helm, the United States continued to support his government. In 1987 then-President Ronald Reagan called him a friend of democracy and freedom, even though the people of Zaire lived in constant fear of his government.

In 1989 the Cold War came to an end, as the Soviet Union splintered into several smaller countries and many of its traditional allies in Eastern Europe abandoned communism. With the threat of communism gone, Mobutu's supporters in the United States and Western Europe finally began to demand

some political and economic reforms in return for aid. Mobutu grudgingly began a reform program in 1990. For the first time since 1965, opposition political parties were allowed to form, and a new constitution was created that allowed for democratic elections. Many of these new parties were under the control of Mobutu's allies, but the dictator knew that he would have to make some compromises. A timetable for democratic elections was put in place, and a new prime minister, Etienne Tskisekedi, was placed in office after intense negotiations, although Mobutu continued to serve as president.

A longtime opponent of Mobutu, Tskisekedi had spent most of the 1980s either in prison or in exile as a result of the dictator's efforts to silence him. Shortly after taking office, Tskisekedi remarked that he had always regarded Mobutu to be a "monster . . . without law, morals, [or] principles." In the meantime, Mobutu's scheming made it clear that he would not surrender power willingly. The new governing arrangement was an utter failure. By 1993 the Zairian government was paralyzed, and it has changed little since then. Factions led by such figures as Catholic Archbishop Laurent Monsengwo continue to push for Mobutu's removal, but their task is made much harder by the country's parliament, which Mobutu has rendered powerless.

Mobutu in the 1990s

During the mid-1990s Mobutu made some belated efforts to improve his position with world leaders, who have grown increasingly appalled at his treatment of the Zairian people. For example, he established a friendly relationship with American television evangelist Pat Robertson, who has made millions of dollars in Zaire's diamond industry since the early 1990s. Analysts also point out that two tragic events in Africa in 1994 worked to Mobutu's advantage. Both the Ebola virus outbreak in Zaire and the genocidal war in Rwanda—which sent 1.5 million refugees into Mobutu's domain—forced countries to deal with him again. In both instances, other countries were so determined to address the crisis that they resumed relations with Mobutu's government in hopes of coordinating their efforts.

But many analysts wonder how long Mobutu can hold power. He spends much of his time hidden away in the presidential palace in Gbadolite, and some analysts believe that he has spent much of the fortune he accumulated in the 1970s and 1980s on buying continued political support. In the early 1990s he was diagnosed with prostate cancer, an illness that cast yet another shadow of uncertainty over Zaire's future.

Meanwhile, the country that Mobutu has ruled for more than 30 years has been devastated by his neglect and corruption. Public services in such areas as education, health care, and transportation are nonexistent across much of the country. Indeed, trips in Zaire that used to take days now take weeks, for the

jungle has begun to reclaim the unattended roads. The people of Zaire continue to live in fear as well. An atmosphere of political and economic chaos pervades Zaire: the nation's agricultural and economic networks have collapsed, and security forces continue to roam the country, killing and torturing citizens without fear of punishment.

Charitable organizations, concerned nations, and dedicated Zairian citizens have all tried to help change the terrible situation in Zaire, but many analysts believe that the country will only be able to start on the road to recovery after Mobutu is gone. As *The Economist* remarked in 1995, "the virus infecting this carcass of a could-be state is the president himself, Mobutu Sese Seko."

Events in neighboring countries have also hurt Zaire. Violent ethnic clashes between Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Burundi and Rwanda, two nations that sit on Zaire's eastern border, triggered a flood of Hutu refugees seeking asylum in Zaire in 1995 and 1996. By late October 1996 the largest of the camps erected to hold the refugees contained more than 400,000 people, a population greater than that of many big U.S. cities. Many Zairians have complained that caring for the refugees has placed an unfair burden on their already poverty-stricken country. "[The refugees have] brought diseases, ruined the economy, destroyed the environment," said the mayor of one town in Zaire.

Threat to Mobutu's Power

The situation was further complicated by the Zairean government's decision to oust a large Tutsi community from land that they had occupied for years. The angry Tutsis rebelled, routing government forces in several clashes in eastern Zaire in late October and early November 1996. On November 4 the rebels announced a three-week cease-fire so that the estimated 1.1 million refugees in Zaire who had been caught in the fighting could return to their home countries. Despite their grim situation in Zaire, however, many of these refugees were reluctant to return to Burundi and Rwanda for fear that they would be killed by those who drove them out in the first place.

Finally, in mid-November 1996, the Hutu militia that had terrorized the camps was forced to flee from approaching Zairian rebels. The refugees subsequently began the long trek home to Rwanda. The Zairean rebels, meanwhile, announced their intention to push Mobutu from power. They subsequently seized control of several towns and regions in eastern Zaire. Mobutu, who had been resting from cancer treatment at a villa on the French Riviera, returned to Zaire in December 1996. Upon returning, the president proclaimed that "Each time that Zaire has been threatened in the past, I have never pulled back. I will never pull back. I know your expectations and your hopes. I will devote myself to finding a rapid and positive response in the higher interest of the nation."

In January 1997 Mobutu left the country once again for medical treatment in Monaco, but before leaving he carried out a major reshuffling of personnel in the government and the military in order to meet the rebel threat to his rule. Many observers, though, wonder if these changes will be sufficient to halt the rebel advance, for neither the regular Zairean army nor Mobutu's elite Presidential Guard forces have proven able to defeat the rebels.

Currently, elections in Zaire are scheduled for May 1997. But analysts are uncertain whether they will take place, for Mobutu has delayed the vote in the past. Given the current chaotic situation, few people familiar with Zaire are confident that the free elections will take place on time.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Mobutu and his wife, Bobi Ladawa, have several children, but few other details are known about the president's personal life. In recent years the president has spent nearly all of his time at the presidential palace that he built in Gbadolite, the village where he lived with his father's family. This palace, according to Mobutu, is his "place of meditation."

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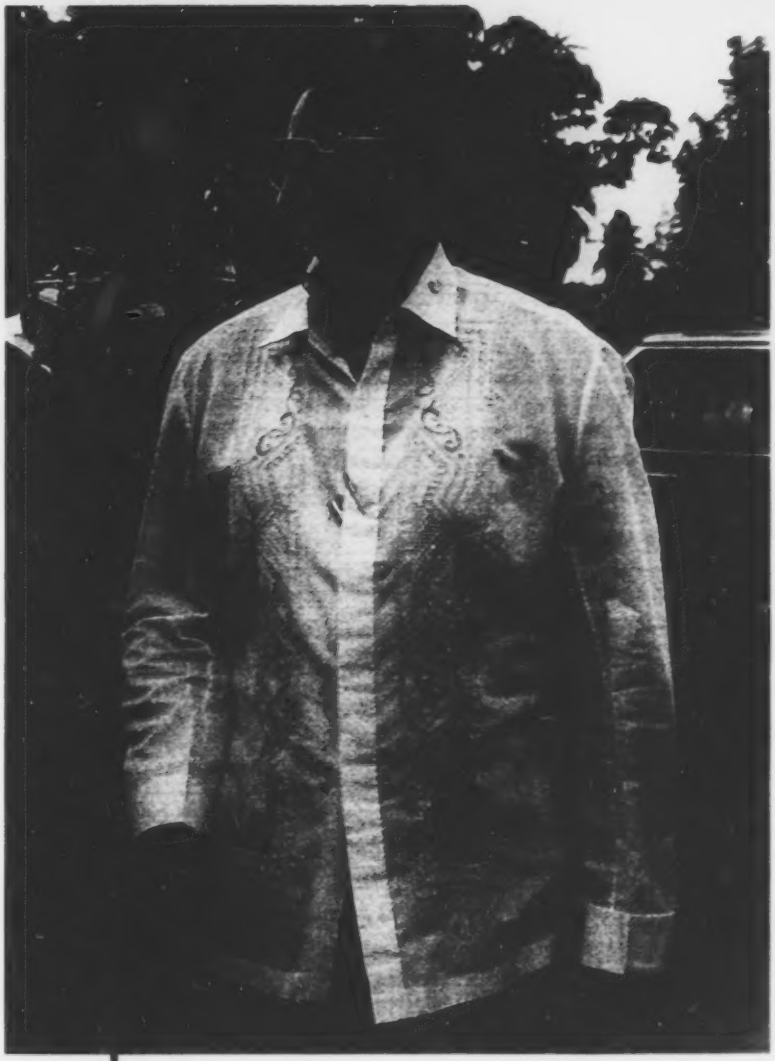

Robert Mugabe 1924-

Former Nationalist Guerrilla Leader
President of Zimbabwe

BIRTH

Robert Gabriel Mugabe (moo-GAH-bee) was born on February 21, 1924, in the small village of Kutama in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). He was born into the Zezuru clan of the Shona tribe. His parents were Gabriel Mugabe, a carpenter and farmer, and Bona Mugabe. Robert had three brothers—Miteri, Raphael, and Dhonandho—and one sister, Sabina.

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COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded

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into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

ZIMBABWE HISTORY

People have lived in the region now known as Zimbabwe for thousands of years, but large cities did not appear until about 1000 A.D., when Shona tribespeople built a city called Zimbabwe. In the 15th century, an offshoot of the Shona known as the Karanga established an empire that encompassed much of modern-day Zimbabwe. Later that century, though, a branch of the Karangas broke off and formed their own kingdom. This kingdom, known as the Changamire Empire, soon became the dominant force in the land, a position they held for the next few centuries.

The Changamire Empire fell at the hands of another tribal group known as the Nguni in the first half of the 19th century, but the Nguni had little time to savor their victory. During the late 1800s European explorers and settlers descended on the region in increasing numbers. By 1893 British businessman Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company had parlayed one-sided treaties with several African tribal chiefs into effective control of the region. Two years later the powerful company, which had authority from the British government to serve as administrators of the region, named the territory Rhodesia, and in 1897 Great Britain recognized Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) as separate territories.

In the early 1920s white settlers in Southern Rhodesia voted to establish their own government, though they remained a colony of Great Britain. The white minority continued to rule the region for the next few decades. They instituted discriminatory laws and social customs that relegated black Africans to inferior status in society. In 1953 the white-led governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland (now Malawi) decided to join together in a single group. This union, known as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, deeply angered blacks in those three lands. They felt that the federation would make it more difficult for them to secure the economic and individual rights that would put them on equal footing with whites.

The federation lasted for only 10 years, however, before it dissolved under a wave of newly installed black-led governments. By the mid-1960s Northern Rhodesia had become Zambia and Nyasaland had been transformed into Malawi; both of these countries became independent from Britain during this

time. Only Southern Rhodesia—which shortened its name to Rhodesia after its northern neighbor renamed itself Zambia—remained a protectorate of the crumbling British Empire. This meant that Britain still had ultimate authority over the region. In November 1965, however, Rhodesia announced its independence from Britain. This move was led by Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, a fierce defender of the white-led government. The announcement infuriated the British. Great Britain had agreed to grant independence to its other colonies, but Rhodesia's announcement marked the first time since the American Revolution of 1776 that a British colony had declared independence without Britain's consent. Spurred by Great Britain, the United Nations subsequently imposed damaging economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

Meanwhile, whites in Rhodesia tried to keep their power over the country's black majority. They maintained a system in which one could only vote in Rhodesia if one met strict educational and economic requirements. These restrictions effectively prevented most of the nation's blacks from voting. But blacks were weary of their second-class status. They watched blacks in other African nations assume control of their lands in the 1950s and 1960s. Rhodesia's black population became increasingly determined to improve their political situation as well. One of the leaders in this effort was guerrilla fighter Robert Mugabe.

YOUTH

Mugabe grew up on his family's modest farm. He had many chores as a child, ranging from caring for his family's cattle to helping to tend crops. His responsibilities kept him out in the fields for hours at a time, but he still had time to listen to the stories of the older boys and men of the village. They often regaled Mugabe and his friends with tales about their brave and adventurous Shona ancestors.

When Mugabe was about 10 years old, the situation in his family changed dramatically. His father left the family to work in the mines of South Africa. He hoped to make a lot of money there, but the Mugabe clan saw little evidence that he was successful in that regard. Mugabe's father rarely sent them any money, and after awhile they did not hear from him at all. He disappeared, never to be heard from again. With their father gone, the Mugabe children were forced to work even harder to make sure that the family had shelter and enough to eat.

EDUCATION

Mugabe grew up in an area that had a strong Christian missionary presence. As a result, he was able to get an education that was far better than the average black Rhodesian child could hope for.

A Catholic priest named Father O'Hea was particularly important in this regard. He arrived at the village of Kutama when Mugabe was about six years old. Looking around, O'Hea saw that the mission had only one school that provided only elementary classes. He quickly addressed the situation, launching a technical school and a teacher-training school. He also built a much-needed hospital in Kutama.

O'Hea recognized that Robert Mugabe was an unusually bright child, and he did his very best to encourage the boy in his studies. Mugabe quickly moved ahead of other boys his age in his coursework. After he graduated from the elementary school at Kutama, O'Hea arranged for Mugabe to continue his education at the teacher-training school that he had founded a few years before. Mugabe graduated in 1944 and spent most of the next few years teaching at a school called the Hope Fountain Mission.

In 1949 Mugabe received a scholarship to attend Fort Hare University in South Africa. Fort Hare was regarded as one of Africa's best educational institutions for blacks, even though it received little funding from the South Africa's white-minority government. During his studies at Fort Hare, Mugabe's interest in politics and African nationalism blossomed. He read great quantities of literature on political theories and philosophies and debated many issues with the school's other students. During this period of his life, Mugabe became very interested in Marxism, an economic-political philosophy that favored socialism—and eventually communism—over democratic capitalist-based forms of government. As he immersed himself in the school's stimulating intellectual environment, he gradually became determined to do his part to establish black majority rule in his homeland.

By the time Mugabe graduated from Fort Hare with a degree in education, he had joined the African National Congress (ANC), a group that was working to secure black majority rule in several African nations. Mugabe spent the next few years teaching at several different schools in Southern Rhodesia, and in 1957 he traveled to the country of Ghana to continue his studies and teach. The situation he found in Ghana further inspired him to work for change in his own homeland.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Mugabe arrived in Ghana at the same time that it was achieving independence from Great Britain, which had long held the land as one of its colonies. Under the guidance of Kwame Nkrumah, the country's black majority took control of the nation's government and set about the process of creating the society they wanted. As Lorraine Eide noted in her biography of Mugabe, "Ghana's president, cabinet ministers, educators, and businesspeople were black, and the continent followed its progress with pride and enthusiasm. If this could happen in Ghana, Mugabe realized, it could happen in Rhodesia too."

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During his stay in Ghana Mugabe married Sally Heyfron, an instructor at St. Mary's College, where he was also teaching. After three years, Mugabe returned to Rhodesia with his wife and found that an independence movement was rapidly forming among the nation's black population. He quickly waded into the struggle against the white-led government. He promptly joined a group called the National Democratic Party (NDP), which had been formed by black activist Joshua Nkomo. By December 1961 the white supremacist government of Prime Minister Edgar Whitehead had banned the NDP. The group subsequently reconstituted itself as the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and Mugabe emerged as one of the leaders of this group. As a result, when the Whitehead government became concerned about increasing racial tensions in the fall of 1962, he was among the black figures who were arrested.

Mugabe was released a few months later, but he remained an outspoken advocate of black self-government and Marxist political thought. In July 1963 he and Nkomo clashed over strategy, and Mugabe subsequently left ZAPU and joined forces with another leading black activist, Ndabaningi Sithole. Mugabe and Sithole became the leaders of a new nationalist organization called the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Mugabe later told the *New York Times* that "we broke with Nkomo . . . because we believed he was not for armed struggle [and] was half-hearted about it at the time." Such statements made it clear that by this time Mugabe and his allies were ready to use violence in their efforts to destroy the country's white-led government.

Imprisonment

In August 1964 Mugabe was arrested once again for making "subversive speeches" against the government. He was imprisoned for the next 10 years in several detention camps across the country. Throughout his imprisonment, though, Mugabe kept in touch with activists outside the camps, and young political prisoners who were held in the camps flocked around him to hear his thoughts on Marxism and black self-rule. He also used his time in prison to continue his studies; by the time he was released he had used correspondence courses to earn university degrees in law, economics, and education.

In December 1974 Mugabe and more than a dozen other African nationalist leaders were released from prison by an increasingly nervous Rhodesian government. The growth of African self-rule in other nations during the previous few years worried Rhodesia's white leaders, who knew that their own security was crumbling from both internal and external pressure.

Shortly after his release, Mugabe clashed with other black leaders. After bitterly criticizing other African activists for trying to negotiate with then Prime Minister Ian Smith and other Rhodesian officials, Mugabe traveled to neigh-

Prime Minister Mugabe speaking to the United Nations General Assembly in October 1987

boring Mozambique. Once there, he organized many ZANU soldiers into a new guerrilla army that shunned traditional forms of combat in favor of a campaign of harassment, deception, sabotage, and ambush. Mugabe then launched a series of attacks against Rhodesia. These assaults became even more effective when Nkomo's ZAPU forces, who had become disgusted with the lack of progress on negotiations with the government, joined them. ZANU and ZAPU were soon united under the name of the Patriotic Front (PF).

In 1976 and 1977 soldiers of the PF—and other supportive African nations such as Mozambique—repeatedly clashed with Rhodesia's government troops. Lorraine Eide observed that as the months passed by, the rebels seemed poised to take control: "Whites were emigrating from Rhodesia at the rate of 1,000 per month. . . .Leaders of governments throughout the world—not just in southern Africa—began meeting with the Zimbabwean liberation organizations to discuss the future. Victory for the guerrillas was recognized as an inevitability."

In the late 1970s the white Rhodesian government made several desperate compromises in an effort to maintain some power in the country. In 1978 Smith reached agreement with several black activists to hold national elections that would finally allow Rhodesian blacks to vote. But even though the

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elections that followed in 1979 gave blacks significantly greater power, guerrilla leaders such as Mugabe remained unhappy, and no other nation gave the new government official recognition.

The leaders of the Patriotic Front continued to press for even greater power, and in December 1979 arrangements were finally made for Rhodesia to become a fully independent nation under black majority rule. A cease-fire in the fighting between government forces and the guerrillas was successfully imposed, and the nation prepared for the upcoming February 1980 elections. Mugabe, Nkomo, and Muzorewa all announced their intention of running for prime minister. As the time for the election drew near, the atmosphere in the country became one of nervousness and anticipation, for everybody knew that these elections would decide the country's future leadership and direction.

Prime Minister Mugabe

On March 4, 1980, it was announced that Mugabe had won an upset victory to become the nation's new prime minister. The other candidates were shocked by the results, for they had completely underestimated Mugabe's popularity among the Shona people, who made up a large part of the population. Nkomo bitterly commented that "you give [blacks] one man one vote and look what they do with it." But other observers noted that the elections marked a significant turning point for the nation's people: after years of struggle, black majority rule had been achieved.

Mindful of Mugabe's past participation in violence, many people worried that his rule would be a bloody, vengeful one. The new prime minister quickly moved to calm people's fears, though. He called for an end to the violence that had marked the past few years, saying "it is now the time to beat our swords into ploughshares so that we can attend to the problems of developing our economy and society." On April 18, 1980, the nation changed its name to Zimbabwe, the name of one of the region's ancient cities. On that same date, Great Britain granted it recognition as a completely independent nation.

During the early 1980s Mugabe enjoyed both triumphs and failures. He proved unable to hold together the fragile ZANU-ZAPU coalition. Disputes over power with Nkomo, who had been appointed to his cabinet, eventually led the prime minister to dismiss the ZAPU leader. Nkomo subsequently fled into the wild with his followers and re-formed a guerrilla army to oppose Mugabe. By 1985, though, Mugabe had brutally crushed Nkomo's guerrillas with his own forces, and his hold on power remained secure.

Mugabe kept the economy from sliding into ruin by convincing white settlers, who still accounted for much of the nation's wealth, that they would be treated fairly. He also improved the daily lives of black Zimbabweans by emphasizing new social welfare programs in areas like health care (including family

planning) and education. Life expectancy rose from 45 years in 1979 to 64 years in 1989, in large part because far fewer children died in infancy.

Finally, Mugabe emerged as a noted supporter of women's rights in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. "It is our view that women have been doubly oppressed in [Zimbabwe]," he said. "Firstly they suffered the general oppression which the men have suffered and, secondly, the men are responsible for oppressing the women."

A Ruthless Ruler

Many people gave Mugabe a lot of credit for his smooth handling of the nation's affairs during the first half of the 1980s, but his actions drew increased criticism in the last part of the decade and the early 1990s. University students, trade unionists, and other critics expressed dissatisfaction with corruption, cuts in government spending on social programs, and the nation's poor economic growth. They also claimed that Mugabe had become a virtual dictator. In 1987 he orchestrated a reconciliation between ZAPU and ZANU so that he could create a country with only one real political party. Discarding the title of prime minister, Mugabe became president of the government. He kept the title in 1990, when he was elected to a six-year term. Over the next few years it became clear that Mugabe was willing to resort to ruthless measures to keep his grip on power. Political opponents were victims of harassment or worse. "If anybody is talked about as a possible successor, Mugabe quickly bashes them into oblivion," said one university professor in Zimbabwe. "There's only one national leader, and that's by his design. The limelight doesn't move to anybody else."

In recent years Mugabe has done little to address Zimbabwe's steadily growing problems, though he has indicated a growing willingness to consider a two-party political system. The country's economy has been hampered by inflation, unemployment, droughts, foreign debt, growing government corruption, and Mugabe's reluctance to turn the state's many holdings in communications, transportation, and other areas over to private businesses that might be more successful with them. AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) is also a problem in Zimbabwe; an estimated one million people in the country are thought to be infected with HIV (Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus). HIV is the virus that causes AIDS.

Mugabe has also been rebuked for a barrage of negative remarks that he made about homosexuals in the mid-1990s. Referring to gay people as "worse than dogs and pigs," Mugabe announced that "gays have no human rights at all" and suggested that they should be hounded out of society. Such remarks outraged many people across the world and caused a good deal of controversy, but Mugabe remained unapologetic. An editorial in the American maga-

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zine *The Nation* subsequently lamented that "the once-venerated freedom fighter has become a cranky old bigot."

In March 1996 national elections were held in Zimbabwe. Mugabe won re-election easily, for he had harassed all his rivals for the presidency into dropping out of the contest. For the time being his hold on power seems secure, but the future direction of his country seems less assured.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Mugabe was first married in 1960, to Sally Heyfron. She died in January 1992 from kidney failure. They had one son, Nhadmodzeyika, who died of encephalitis during Mugabe's 10-year prison stay. In 1996 Mugabe married Grace Marufu in a Catholic ceremony. The two of them had already been married according to African traditional law, which allowed Mugabe to have more than one wife. The couple have a son, Robert, and a daughter, Bona.

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Kwame Nkrumah 1909-1972

First President of Ghana

BIRTH

Kwame Nkrumah (KWAH-may en-KROO-muh) was born on September 21, 1909, in Nkrofro, a village near the Atlantic Ocean in the southwest corner of Ghana (then called the Gold Coast). His birth name was Francis Nwia Kofie Nkrumah, but as he grew older he stopped using the name Francis because of its European origin. Little is known of his father, although he was apparently regarded as the finest goldsmith in the village. Nkrumah's mother was Elizabeth Nyanibaha, an area market trader. In accordance with native traditions, Nkrumah's father

had several other wives as well. Many of these women had children, too, so Nkrumah grew up with many brothers and sisters.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not cause that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in its industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also

erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

GOLD COAST HISTORY

In the late 19th century, the region now known as Ghana had been colonized by Great Britain, which had wrested control of the region from powerful Dutch and Danish slave traders who had destroyed many tribes from the 1600s to the mid-1800s. The British called the area the Gold Coast, in recognition of the plentiful natural resources that English traders and investors grabbed from the land. But while the Europeans who controlled the territory enriched themselves, many of the Africans who lived in the region continued to live in poverty. The Gold Coast's colonial government did not do much to educate the Africans or improve their lives in other ways, and as the years passed, the native people of the region naturally began to resent the arrangement.

YOUTH

As a youngster who lived in a rural setting, Nkrumah was largely unaware of the grim history of his homeland. Indeed, Nkrumah's childhood was a happy one. He deeply loved both of his parents, and when he was older he recalled their gentleness with fondness. "[My mother] was a most worthy and vigilant protector," he said in his autobiography. "Although she allowed me a lot of freedom and I never felt myself tied to her apron strings, she was always at hand when I needed her and she had a knack of knowing my wants without either of us speaking a word. . . . My father was a man of strong character, extremely kind and very proud of his children. Although I was probably one of the most willful and naughtiest of children, I can never remember his lifting a finger against me."

Everybody in the household got along well, and since the adults took care of the many chores around the house, Nkrumah and his brothers and sisters were free to play and explore. "It was a wonderful life for us children with nothing to do but play around all day. Our playground was vast and varied,

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for we had the sea, the lagoon and the thrill of unexplored bush all within easy reach," he recalled. He enjoyed playing with his siblings and the other children of the village, but he also liked spending time alone. "I used to wander off on my own and spend hours on end quietly observing the birds and the lesser animals of the forest and listening to their numerous and varied calls. Sometimes, however, I was not content merely to sit and watch them; I wanted to touch and caress them. It was not long, therefore, before I devised a means of trapping them — not to kill but to bring home as pets."

EDUCATION

As a youngster Nkrumah attended area mission schools operated by the Catholic Church, which was trying to convert natives to the Catholic faith. Nkrumah became known as a good student and a lover of books. He was also somewhat mischievous at times, and he occasionally received harsh canings for his pranks. As time passed, though, Nkrumah worked at his studies with greater seriousness, and in 1926 he was named an assistant teacher at the school.

Later that year Nkrumah left to attend the Achimota Government Training College in Accra, a college that was regarded as the most progressive in West Africa. During his time there, he learned to take increased pride in his heritage. Nkrumah threw himself enthusiastically into his studies and various extracurricular activities. He joined the drama club and debating society, and he developed a growing awareness of the political situation in the Gold Coast and elsewhere in Africa. Before graduating from Achimota in 1930, he met other African students who believed that colonialism should be abandoned in favor of self-rule all across the continent. Nkrumah's studies of colonialism and African history convinced him that the native people of the Gold Coast region should be able to rule themselves without interference from the British or anyone else.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Teaching and Traveling

After graduating from Achimota, he taught at several Roman Catholic schools around the Gold Coast. He was regarded as a very good instructor, but some people in the government thought that his efforts to establish a teachers' union marked him as a troublemaker.

Nkrumah wanted to continue his education overseas, and after being accepted to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania he borrowed $300 for the trip to the United States. Founded in 1854, Lincoln University was the country's first center of higher education run exclusively for blacks. At first Nkrumah did not have money for tuition, but he convinced the school administration to let him

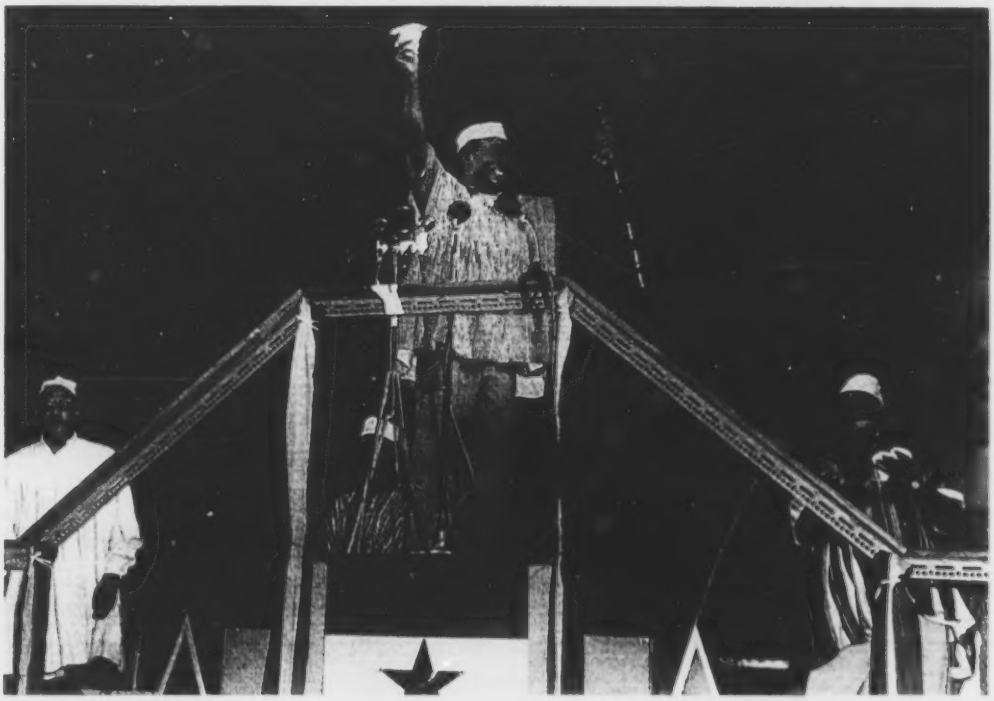
attend for a probationary period. He did so well that the school offered him a scholarship, but he still had a hard time making ends meet during his stay at Lincoln. He took a series of menial odd jobs in order to earn enough money to eat and have a place to live.

In 1939 Nkrumah graduated from Lincoln with a bachelor's degree in sociology. He went on to the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated with master's degrees in philosophy and education. In 1943 he returned to Lincoln, where he taught and served as co-founder and president of the African Students Association. In 1945 Nkrumah, who by this time was well-known as a political activist, moved to England.

From 1945 to 1947 Nkrumah studied at the London School of Economics, where his life changed dramatically. Heavily influenced by the writings of a number of well-known political theorists, including black writers Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois and communist leaders Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, Nkrumah developed his own philosophy of African liberation and independence. He subsequently devoted much of his time to politics, emerging as a leading crusader for African independence. He joined the West African Students' Union and became one of its vice-presidents, and served as an editor for the Union's radical *New African* newspaper. Finally, Nkrumah helped organize the fifth Pan-African Congress, whose members hoped to gain the complete political and economic liberation of Africa. During the gathering, Nkrumah declared that the "colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive for these ends by all means at their disposal." In addition to insisting that all African nations be freed from colonial control, Nkrumah suggested that all the African liberation movements should be coordinated. He envisioned a united Africa in which all countries would act together as a federation.

In 1947 Nkrumah finally returned to the Gold Coast. He had been selected to serve as general secretary of the newly formed United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), an organization dedicated to securing self-rule for the Gold Coast natives. Nkrumah and other members of the UGCC, though, soon found that they had basic disagreements about the best way to gain independence. The UGCC hoped to secure limited independence from Great Britain by negotiating with the British and passing constitutional changes. Nkrumah, though, wanted to mobilize the region's black population and force out the British colonizers.

In February 1948 riots swept across the Gold Coast, leaving 30 people dead and many more injured. Poor economic conditions were widely blamed for the riots, but some people also thought that Nkrumah's confrontational positions played a part in the violence. Hundreds of people were arrested, including Nkrumah and other leaders of the UGCC. Recalling his arrest, Nkrumah said that "it all happened so suddenly that it seemed like a nightmare."



When Nkrumah and the other arrested leaders of the UGCC were released two months later, the organization forced him to resign from his position. Unfazed, he established a new group called the Convention People's Party (CPP), which would be dedicated to securing immediate independence for the territory's African population. Upon announcing the formation of the new party, Nkrumah proclaimed that "the time has arrived when a definite line of action must be taken if we are going to save our country from continued imperialist exploitation and oppression." He then began to travel the country, talking to big, enthusiastic crowds about a strategy for independence called "positive action." Positive action, he said, was the "adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism in the country."

Using such nonviolent tactics as boycotts, strikes, and acts of civil disobedience, Nkrumah and CPP paralyzed the country in January 1950. Railroads and factory assembly lines ground to a halt across the Gold Coast, and thousands of businesses were forced to shut their doors for the duration of the strike. Only hospitals were not included in the strike. British authorities declared a state of emergency and arrested Nkrumah once again. The government suspended the CPP and sentenced Nkrumah to three years in prison, but as it turned out, these actions only delayed the inevitable.

By this time, Nkrumah's brave defiance had made him a hero in the eyes of the African people of the Gold Coast. The unrest of the last few years had convinced the British authorities that they had to institute some reforms, in-

cluding announcing legislative elections in 1951. Despite the horrible conditions in his jail cell, Nkrumah kept in contact with supporters by smuggling out notes written on toilet paper. In early 1951 he ran for a seat in the country's Legislative Assembly from prison. Armed with the symbol of their jailed leader, the CPP registered stunning triumphs over their opponents on both national and local levels. Nkrumah won a seat in the new assembly as well, and the authorities decided that they had better release him from prison. On February 12, 1951, he was released to a waiting crowd of celebrating supporters. "To look at this locked mass of struggling figures and to listen to the deafening clamor of their jubilant voices made me feel quite giddy," he later wrote. "The only way I could steady myself was to keep my eyes averted and to gaze at the mighty expanse of sea and sky until I was able to adjust myself and acknowledge the greetings of the people. Slowly, as I filled my lungs with the pure air of freedom, new life was born into me. This was the greatest day of my life, my day of victory, and these were my warriors."

Leader of Ghana

In 1952 Nkrumah was named prime minister of the Gold Coast. The territory was still a colony of Great Britain, and the English still controlled the region's banks, courts, and foreign policy decisions. But its hold was weakening, and Nkrumah pressed his advantage. He appointed an all-African cabinet and renewed his calls for independence. He was re-elected in 1954 and 1956 despite opposition from African cocoa growers and traditional chiefs, who disagreed with some of his economic and social policies.

In 1957 the tireless efforts of Nkrumah and many others finally paid off, as the British authorities realized that they could not maintain control forever. The people of the Gold Coast were given their independence on March 6, thus becoming the first black African colony to be granted its freedom. The new nation renamed itself Ghana, in honor of an ancient African empire.

Nkrumah knew that challenges loomed for Ghana and its citizens, many of whom had long suffered from a lack of economic, social, and educational opportunities. During his first few years as leader of the new nation, he instituted many changes. These included an improved road system, educational advances, construction of the huge, electricity-generating Volta Dam, and improved international relations. Nkrumah also became well known around the world for his efforts to free the rest of the African continent from colonialism. He continued to oppose European countries running the affairs of Africa, and he was not shy about saying so.

But as the 1950s faded into the early 1960s, observers of Ghana also noted many disturbing aspects to Nkrumah's government. Nkrumah passed several laws designed to silence those who disagreed with him, and by 1960 anyone who criticized him—including newspaper reporters or publishers—ran the

risk of being thrown into prison. He once explained this crackdown by saying that "only totalitarian measures can preserve liberty." In addition, Ghana's economy was stumbling badly; foreign aid was being sloppily managed, and by the early 1960s government corruption seemed to be everywhere. Nkrumah's economic plan, which was based on nationalizing business and agriculture, also was hurt by the falling price of cocoa—Ghana's main crop—on world markets. Workers in the cocoa industry became increasingly upset about their grim financial situation, and in September 1961 unionists called a strike.

Nkrumah, who had been a leading union organizer in the 1930s and 1940s, used the country's police and military personnel to crush the strike. Less than a year after the strike, the first of three assassination attempts were made on his life. In the trial that followed some of those accused of the crime were set free. This enraged Nkrumah, who fired the country's chief justice and passed a law that gave him the power to overrule the courts. The people of Ghana were both saddened and angered by these developments. Their leader in the fight for independence had turned into a dictator.

The situation in Ghana continued to worsen in the mid-1960s. While the economy of Ghana fell apart, "Nkrumah fostered a personality cult that was excessive even by the standards of most dictators," noted *An African Biographical Dictionary*. He insisted that the country produce countless coins, stamps, statues, monuments, and songs in his honor, and he encouraged those around him to call him *Osagyefo*, which means "redeemer" or "hero." Nkrumah's arrogance became so great that he once said that "no African can have an opinion that differs from mine. If one acts against my better judgment he must be doing it not because he wants to but because he has been paid."

Nkrumah also made questionable alliances with other countries. From the end of World War II until 1989, a "Cold War" existed between the communist-led Soviet Union and its allies and the democratic United States and its Western European allies. Both sides were competing to establish their political philosophies and expand their spheres of influence in Africa and other regions of the world. Nkrumah turned away from Western nations such as the United States in favor of communist China and the Soviet Union. Fears about his safety subsequently led Nkrumah to let the Soviet secret police agency known as the KGB into his country. The KGB, an agency known for its ruthless treatment of dissidents in the Soviet Union, soon took over supervision of Ghana's security forces and police communications. This development, along with his harsh treatment of critics, finally led Julius Nyerere, the widely respected leader of Tanzania, to publicly denounce Nkrumah in 1964. Nyerere's disgusted remarks seemed to signal a widespread re-evaluation of Ghana's ruler. Up to this point he had remained one of Africa's leading spokesmen, but after Nyerere's remarks, other nations seemed to realize that he had become nothing more than a tyrant.

In 1964 Nkrumah took the final steps toward a dictatorship. He outlawed all political parties but his own, and declared that he was to be Ghana's president for life. But his term in office turned out to be a bit shorter than that. In February 1966 Nkrumah traveled to China on a state visit. While there a group of military officers seized control of the government. The new government charged Nkrumah and his associates with corruption, and said that the revolt was their only option to save the country from ruin.

Nkrumah immediately called for a national uprising against the new revolutionary government, but he soon learned that the people of Ghana were relieved that he was gone. In fact, they celebrated his departure with even greater emotion than they had celebrated independence a decade before. All across Ghana, statues of Nkrumah were destroyed, and roads, buildings, and universities that had been named in his honor were quickly changed.

Exiled from his own country, Nkrumah accepted refuge in neighboring Guinea. The president of Guinea, Sekou Toure, gave him an honorary position in his government, but Nkrumah spent most of the next few years by himself, writing about his Marxist political theories. In 1971 Nkrumah was diagnosed with cancer and went to Romania for treatment. On April 27, 1972, he died in a Bucharest hospital. His body was accepted by the Ghanese government and he was buried in the soil of his homeland. The decision to accept his body reflected the country's recognition that, whatever his shortcomings as president, he had been an important voice in creating an independent Africa. Indeed, years after his death, people in Africa have chosen to remember his better qualities. "The myth remains," wrote Alan Rake in *100 Great Africans*. "In the years since his death he has been rehabilitated. In the minds of the young and idealistic he stands for everything that Africa could have done, but failed to do. The man failed, the legend lives."

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Nkrumah married Fathia Halim Rizk, a woman of Arab descent, on December 30, 1957. It was an unusual marriage, for Nkrumah had initially been attracted to his wife's sister. After learning that the sister was married he decided to marry Fathia, who was supposed to be equally attractive. He arranged for Fathia to fly to Ghana, and on the afternoon that she arrived they were married, even though they had never met before. The couple eventually had three children—Gamal, Samia, and Sekou.

At some points, at least, Nkrumah was apparently unhappy with the marriage. Several years after they were married he wrote in a letter that "I am friendless and companionless . . . I sometimes suffer from intense loneliness which makes me sometimes burst into tears. I am an isolated man—isolated even from life itself. . . . [People] see me in public smiling and laughing, not knowing the burden of loneliness and isolation that I carry. Marriage did not solve it—it has rather intensified and complicated it."

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Julius Kambarage Nyerere 1922-

Former President of the Republic of Tanzania

BIRTH

Julius Kambarage Nyerere (KAHM-ba-raj nyuh-REE-ay) was born in March 1922; the exact date is unknown. He was born on a rainy day, and in recognition of the weather conditions on the day of his birth, his parents named him Kambarage, after an ancestral spirit who lived in the rain. The name Julius was one he took later in life when he converted to Christianity. He was the son of Chief Nyerere Burito of the Zanaki tribe and his fifth wife, Mugaya (the chief had 22 wives). The Zanaki tribe was one of the smallest of the more than 100 tribes that made

their home in the former country of Tanganyika, now known as Tanzania, located on the southeastern coast of Africa.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

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TANZANIAN HISTORY

At the time of Nyerere's birth, Tanganyika was a territory controlled by Great Britain, the latest of a series of foreign nations that had controlled the region. As far back as the 12th century A.D., Arab settlers from the Middle East had influenced the culture of the territory. Indeed, as these settlers, many of whom were traders, started families with African women, a new culture called Swahili formed in the region. The Arabs made the region an important trading center over the next few centuries, and slaves became one of the major things they traded in. In the 1700s and 1800s, Arabs sold thousands of black Africans into slavery, wrecking many families and tribal communities in the process.

Arab control of the region ended during the 19th century, when Germany assumed control of Tanganyika. Their reign was very unpopular with the native Africans, though, and in 1905 a revolt against the Germans exploded across the country. This revolt, known as the Maji Maji Rebellion, ended only after German troops killed thousands of rebels.

Germany lost its grip on Tanganyika in 1918, after it was defeated in World War I by Great Britain and its allies. In the aftermath of the war, Great Britain, which already had claims on a number of other territories in the region, took over administration of Tanganyika as well. Over the next two decades, the native peoples of Tanganyika could only watch helplessly as immigrants from all corners of the British Empire poured into the country to exploit the country's natural resources and people. Nyerere was born in the midst of this period of British consolidation.

YOUTH

Looking back on his childhood, Nyerere has said that his father, Burito, who was one of the Zanaki tribe's eight chieftains, was one of the most important

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influences on his life. He educated his son about tribal customs and traditions, and showed him how to conduct himself in dealing with others. The old chief acted slowly and carefully before making any decisions, and he was known throughout the tribe for his honesty. For example, the Zanaki chieftains took turns presiding over the local tribal court, but Burito's reputation for integrity was so great that people would not go to court unless they knew that Julius's father was presiding. When he held court there was always a long line of people waiting to be heard.

Though Julius Nyerere was the son of a chief, he did not live a privileged life. His family lived in a mud hut with a leaky roof, and he and his brothers and sisters tackled many chores under the hot African sun. On some days, he and his family only had enough food for one meal, and this was sometimes no more than a dinner of porridge and corn. But the community he lived in was a supportive one, and he and the village's other children received a great deal of care and attention from the older members of the tribe.

EDUCATION

When Nyerere was 12 years old he was eager to attend school, but his father felt that he should stay home and help with the chores. Nyerere later recalled that another tribal leader named Ihunyo played a major part in convincing his father to send him. "Ihunyo himself said I should go. There is a Bantu game, *bao*. It's a clever game, the best tribal game, I think. Well, Ihunyo was very clever at it. My father wasn't good enough for Ihunyo. . . . Well, one time when Ihunyo visited our house, I played him. I don't think I defeated him, but it was clear to him that I had some brains, and he told my father, 'This boy is very clever. He should be sent to school.'" Ihunyo and one of Nyerere's brothers finally convinced his father to send him to the Mwisenge School, a local primary school in Musoma, a town located more than 25 miles away from his village.

At Musoma Nyerere studied math, science, and Swahili, the dominant language of the area. He was a very good student, and when he was 15 he began studying the English language. In 1936 he passed his exams with the highest scores of the school, and a year later he entered the Tabora Government School. Tabora was the only secondary school in the territory that accepted Africans. The other schools were for white British students.

At Tabora Nyerere was known as a sharp student and a fierce competitor, even though he was skinny and small for his age. "If he didn't finish first, he could be very unhappy," remembered one classmate. He founded the school's debate club, and he happily participated in the organization's debates. During his time at Tabora, Nyerere also became interested in Christianity, and in the mid-1940s he was baptized as a Catholic.

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In 1943, after completing his studies at Tabora, he entered Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda, to obtain a teaching degree. During his time at Makerere he organized a chapter of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). The association had first been organized in 1929 as a social club for African civil servants. Nyerere, though, thought that the association could become an effective force for political change if its direction was focused on the inferior political and economic status of his people. Nyerere graduated from Makerere College in 1945.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

After graduating, Nyerere received two teaching offers from schools in Tabora. One offer came from his old school, while the other came from a new missionary school called St. Mary's College. The Catholic school could not offer him nearly as much money to teach there, but Nyerere liked the St. Mary's program, and he resented government officials who tried to pressure him into returning to his old school. He accepted the offer at St. Mary's, where he quickly became known as a good teacher and a man who was very interested in pushing for changes in his poor, British-dominated country. Despite his modest earnings, he sent money to his family whenever he could.

The next few years were sometimes frustrating for Nyerere. In addition to teaching, he spent a while working part-time as a government price inspector. This position involved making sure that merchants were not overcharging for the products they sold. Nyerere soon realized that the government was ignoring any violations that he reported, and he sent his uniform back to the government to protest their indifference. He also saw other evidence that the government did not care about his countrymen, and as the months passed he became more heavily involved with the TAA.

Nyerere also wanted to continue with his studies, but his efforts to attend school outside of Tanganyika were blocked for months by British officials who worried about his political activities. They argued that if he was allowed to study in the United Kingdom he might become a danger to the colonial government. In 1949, though, he was finally accepted at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. Officials at St. Mary's arranged for a scholarship for Nyerere and a grant to care for his family while he was away.

When Nyerere arrived at Edinburgh in the spring of 1949 he became the first Tanganyikan to attend a British university. He stayed at Edinburgh for the next three years studying economics and history. During this time his philosophical and political views solidified. "I had three years in which to think" about European control of East Africa, recalled Nyerere. "I had given up the politics of complaint, and was ready to tackle the roots of the problem of colonialism. . . . There was no moment when it all clicked into place. It wasn't a

sudden inspiration, I didn't suddenly see the light. . . . At Edinburgh, I was certain I was coming back [to Tanganyika] to get myself involved full-time in politics. I had made up my mind that my life would be political. I had been away three years; now I would give myself three years to look at the country before taking up politics fully. And I nearly did my three years. By 1953 it was quite clear to me: it must be the politics of independence."

Nyerere did not hate Europeans; he made many white friends during his time in Edinburgh. But he felt that European colonialism in Africa exploited the native peoples, and he knew that poverty and unfair treatment often sparked violence. In an essay entitled "The Race Problem in East Africa," Nyerere stated, "Should it come to a bitter choice between being perpetually dominated by a white . . . minority and between driving that minority out of East Africa, no thinking African would hesitate to make the latter choice. . . . How easy it is to inflame an insulted people. I really shudder when I think of the terrible possibility, but it will not be a mere possibility if our white neighbors insist on this vulgar doctrine of the Divine Right of Europeans."

Nyerere graduated from Edinburgh with a master's degree in economics and history in 1952. He was the first African in Tanganyika ever to get a university degree. He returned to his homeland, determined to help his fellow Tanganyikans. "Those who receive this privilege of education have a duty to return the sacrifice which others have made," he said. "They are like the man who has been given all the food available in a starving village in order that he might have the strength to bring supplies back from a distant place. If he takes this food and does not bring help to his brothers, he is a traitor."

Shortly after his return, Nyerere was hired to teach history at St. Francis' College in Pugu. He maintained his involvement in politics, though, and he was soon elected president of the TAA. In 1954, Nyerere reorganized the Tanganyika African Association into the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU), an organization dedicated to achieving independence and ethnic equality for Tanganyika through peaceful methods. TANU was the first African political party in the territory.

Quest for Independence

Nyerere soon emerged as a tremendously popular figure among Africans in Tanganyika. People were attracted to his intelligence and integrity, but they also appreciated the fact that he did not talk down to them. Many educated Africans in the country avoided poorly educated Tanganyikans, but Nyerere listened to their problems and concerns. In just one year he recruited 250,000 new members into TANU. Supported by ever greater numbers of Africans, he pursued independence from Britain with a quiet passion that soon began to leave its mark.

Nyerere knew that several factors favored Tanganyika's African majority in the growing debate over independence. The territory had few white settlers, and the large number of tribes in Tanganyika assured that no one tribe would be dominant. Most importantly, Nyerere and his allies knew that it was difficult for the British to defend their continued control over the nation, for world opinion was rapidly turning against colonialism. Still, England resisted calls for Tanganyikan independence, insisting that the country's citizens were not ready to govern themselves. Nyerere felt that such claims were both silly and outrageous. "We've never accepted the arguments of 'readiness for independence' — that people were not ready to govern themselves," he said. "That is like saying to an individual, 'You are not ready to live.' How do you say to a nation, to a people, 'You're not ready to be human'? It's part of humanness that people should govern themselves. It is incompatible with our being human beings that we be governed against our will."

In August 1954 a United Nations commission visited the territory. Citing the region's limited natural resources and widespread poverty and illiteracy, the commission recommended that development programs be initiated and that the country be made independent in 20 to 25 years. This recommendation made no one happy. Africans in Tanganyika were angry with the commission because they wanted independence much sooner than that, while British critics did not want to ever give Tanganyika its independence. In response to the United Nations recommendation, Nyerere went to New York to address the entire United Nations assembly. Great Britain opposed Nyerere's trip, and they created several obstacles in an effort to prevent him from speaking. They even convinced the United States to restrict Nyerere to an eight-block area around the United Nations during his stay, and to limit his visit in the country to 24 hours. Nyerere was allowed to speak, though, and he made a powerful case for Tanganyikan independence.

Nyerere then returned to his childhood home in Musoma and became a tutor. Much of his time was spent on TANU activities, though, or in the country's Legislative Council (Legco), to which he had been appointed in 1954. By 1958 the drive for independence in the country was surging forward, but Nyerere continued to insist on nonviolent methods of gaining self-rule. In 1958 territory-wide elections further strengthened TANU's position, and even opponents of independence were forced to admit that the momentum for Tanganyikan self-rule was impressive. Nyerere grew confident that independence, which had seemed impossible only a few years before, might actually become a reality. Commenting on the elections, he said that "independence will follow as surely as the tickbirds follow the rhino."

Great Britain realized that it was fighting a losing battle, and in September 1959 it declared that Tanganyika would be granted home rule in late 1960. Nyerere's dream was coming true. In the elections that followed in August 1960, TANU won all but one of the 71 seats in the new legislative assembly.

Leader of Tanganyika

A few days later Nyerere was sworn in as chief minister of a government that, for the first time, featured an African majority in the Legco. Under the agreement reached with Great Britain, the country had only limited independence for the first year, but after that period ended it was totally free. At that time Nyerere took the title of prime minister, but he resigned after a few months so that he could concentrate on turning TANU from an independence movement into a governing body.

In 1961 Tanganyika changed its form of government to a republic. Nyerere ran for president and won with the support of over 98 percent of the country's voters. One of the first changes he instituted was making the country a one-party government. He felt that TANU was so powerful in the country that it would dominate a multi-party system. Under a one-party system, though, election opponents would have equal standing in the eyes of their countrymen. Nyerere also claimed that the inclusive nature of the party would encourage a healthy variety of viewpoints on issues facing the country.

Creation of Tanzania

Nyerere knew that the first few years of self-government would be difficult, and his concerns were justified. His country's people were very poor and uneducated, and its natural resources were either limited (as with farmable land and precious minerals) or largely untapped because of limited industrialization (as with coal and tin). His government was new and vulnerable, too, and in 1964 a group from the Tanganyikan military revolted against Nyerere. He was forced to call on British troops to put down the rebellion.

Later in 1964, Nyerere announced the merger of Tanganyika and the island of Zanzibar into the Republic of Tanzania. The union left Zanzibar with a great deal of control over its own domestic affairs, but also established a national government that was responsible for foreign affairs, defense, communications, and education. The merger of the two governments gave the nation greater power than it would have had otherwise.

In 1965 Nyerere was reelected president of Tanzania with well over 90 percent of the vote, and he remained in that office for the next 20 years. During that time he became an influential figure beyond Tanzania's borders. He helped found the Organization of African Unity and boldly broke relations with countries that he felt were acting irresponsibly. In 1965 he severed diplomatic relations with Great Britain after that country allowed white settlers in Rhodesia to declare independence over the objections of the nation's black majority. Black political leaders also felt Nyerere's anger. In 1972 he denounced the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin for his brutal regime, and he actively supported the successful overthrow of the tyrant. In 1978 Amin ordered an

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A triumphant Nyerere being carried by supporters as his country achieves independence in 1961

invasion of Tanzania that proved disastrous. After pushing the Ugandan forces back, Tanzanian troops helped Ugandan rebels topple Amin, thus ending his wicked rule.

Within Tanzania, Nyerere's record was a mixed one. In 1967 his Arusha Declaration became the basis for a system of socialism that enjoyed both suc-

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cesses and failures. Under the principles of the Declaration, a form of African socialism called *ujamaa*—the Swahili word for familyhood—was instituted. This program emphasized economic cooperation, racial and tribal harmony, and self-sacrifice. Banks, businesses, and property came under the control of the government, which operated under a single-party system, and the country's many farming villages were reorganized into socialist collectives. The country's new agricultural program ultimately failed. The government sometimes forced farmers to join the program against their wishes, and crop production dropped dramatically across much of the country. The nation's economy was crippled by the drop in crop yields and a corresponding rise in business bankruptcies. Tanzania has remained reliant on foreign aid to prop up its economy ever since, and its people remain among the world's poorest.

Supporters of Nyerere point out, though, that many aspects of life improved under his rule. Adult literacy rose dramatically, school attendance jumped from 25 to 95 percent, health care and environmental conditions improved, infant deaths declined, and life expectancy for Tanzanian citizens increased from 35 years to 51 years. Perhaps most importantly, under Nyerere's guidance Tanzania avoided the civil and tribal wars that bloodied many other African nations during this time.

Nyerere was reelected president of Tanzania three more times, in 1970, 1975, and 1980. In 1984 he stepped down from the presidency, although he continued to head the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the political party that had been formed as a result of the 1977 merger of TANU and Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party. In 1990 he left the leadership of the CCM as well, retiring to private life.

But Nyerere did not completely disappear from public view. Tanzania's move to multi-party democracy in the early 1990s was greatly aided by his expressions of public support, and political leaders from Tanzania and other African nations continue to seek him out for his opinion on issues, in part because of his reputation as an honorable man of unshakable principles. Observers note that Nyerere's administration was not marked by corruption or scandal during his years in power. Many other African leaders used their position to increase their personal wealth in the 1970s and 1980s, but Nyerere conducted himself with integrity. He paid himself less than his ministers, established no foreign bank accounts, and maintained a simple lifestyle throughout his years in power. As one of his political opponents remarked, Nyerere "is above corruption. He never sought power for power's sake. He is a man of the people."

HOME AND FAMILY

Shortly after Nyerere started school, his father bought him a bride in accordance with tribal customs. Nyerere never married the bride his father paid for,

though. Years later, when he was ready to marry another woman, he sold his rights to the bride his father had purchased.

In 1953 Nyerere married Marie Magige, a shopkeeper in Tanganyika. They have five sons and two daughters. After his retirement, the Tanzanian government gave him a farm as a gesture of appreciation for his years of service. He and his wife continue to live on the land.

HOBBIES AND OTHER INTERESTS

Nyerere has always been very interested in language and literature. During his years as a statesman he published several collections of essays, including *Freedom and Unity* (1967), *Freedom and Socialism* (1968), and *Freedom and Development* (1973). He also translated two of William Shakespeare's plays—*Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*—into Swahili.

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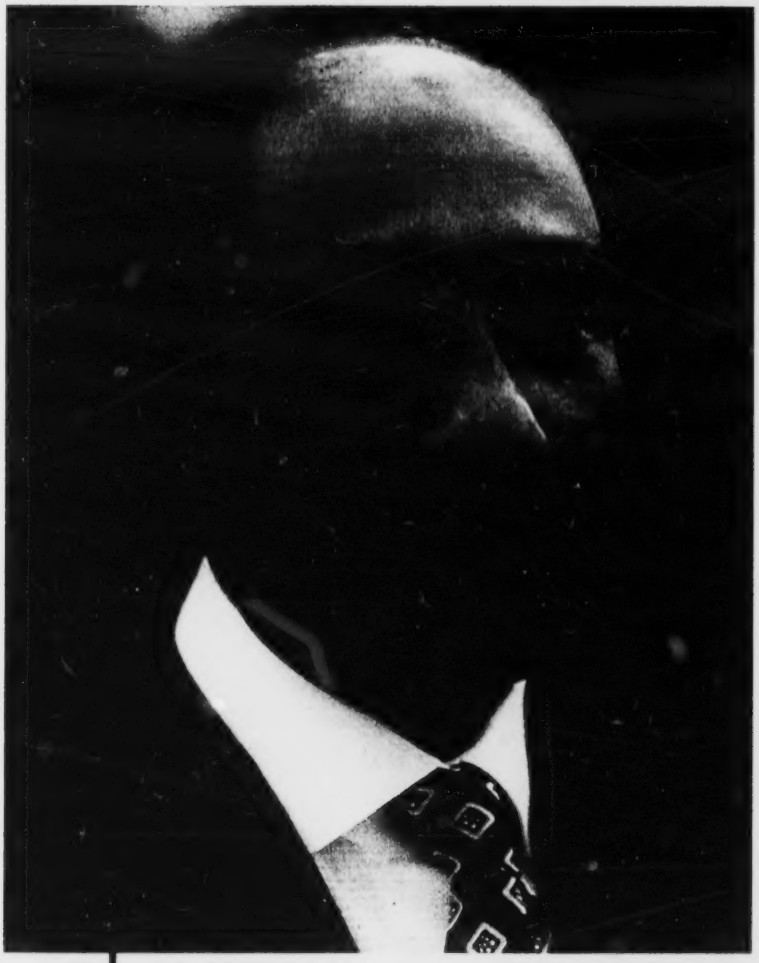

Anwar Sadat 1918-1981

President of Egypt
Nobel Peace Prize Winner

BIRTH

Mohammed Anwar el-Sadat (mo-HAM-uhd AHN-wahr suh-DAHT) was born on December 25, 1918, in Mit Abu al-Kum, a small Egyptian village on the banks of the Nile River delta. He was one of 13 children born to Mohammed el-Sadat, who was a military hospital clerk, and his Sudanese wife. Egypt is part of the Arab northern area on the African continent, and Sadat's parents raised their family in accordance with Muslim, or Islamic, teachings. Anwar Sadat was named in honor of a Turkish army officer that his father admired.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded

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into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

YOUTH

"I could never tear myself away from the life of the village," recalled Sadat in his autobiography, *In Search of an Identity*. His youthful days in the village of Mit Abu al-Kum were "a series of uninterrupted pleasures. There was something different to look forward to every day: the seed-sowing season; irrigation time; the wheat harvest and the harvest celebrations; village wedding festivities, with the delicious *Kunafah* dessert just waiting to be devoured; cotton-harvesting, which always coincided with the harvest of dates."

An intelligent and curious boy, Sadat was fascinated both by the everyday activities around the village and by the larger world that his family often told him about. "Nothing was old, not even those bedtime stories which my grandmother and my mother told me. I listened to them every time with a fresh ear, although they actually never changed. But they were not the old, traditional tales of romantic or warlike exploits . . . they were close to our real life and drew on contemporary society." Many of the stories that young Sadat heard concerned the British, who had controlled Egypt and its people for several generations. As he grew older, he dreamed of helping Egypt achieve independence from British influence.

The British in Egypt

Great Britain was only the latest of a number of countries that had influenced or dictated policies in Egypt over the centuries. Its involvement in Egyptian affairs began in the 19th century, several decades into a rare period of Egyptian self-rule. Ironically, British interference in Egyptian affairs was actually spurred by British interest in another nation. By 1841, the powerful British Empire had come to view India as a very important land in terms of commerce and trade, and it was slowly consolidating power there. But between India and Great Britain lay Egypt and the Red Sea, and as Egypt became more powerful, the British began to worry that the Arab nation might interfere with their overseas affairs if it became too strong. Consequently, Great Britain forced Egypt to accept a decree limiting the size of its army. Eighteen years later, Egypt gave a French company permission to build a canal through the Isthmus of Suez that would connect the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.

Supporters of the project noted that while the canal would be a big undertaking, it would dramatically shorten shipping routes between Europe and eastern Asia. Controlling the Suez Canal would have ongoing political and economic importance for Egypt.

In 1869, after ten years of work, the Suez Canal was opened, but Egypt soon lost control of the canal. In 1875 the country's leaders, who had compiled a huge national debt over the previous few years, decided that they needed an infusion of money to get their finances in order. They subsequently sold Egypt's shares of ownership in the canal to Great Britain. This decision proved disastrous for Egyptian independence, for it gave the British a big weapon in influencing Egyptian affairs. During the next few decades Great Britain's involvement in Egypt continued to increase. By the early 1900s Egyptian rulers were mere figureheads; in reality, British administrators controlled the country's affairs, and in 1914 Egypt was declared a British protectorate. The British were effective governors of the country in some respects, but many Egyptians resented their presence. They argued that Egypt should be led by Egyptians, not the British.

These cries for independence grew even more heated when Great Britain forced Egypt to serve as a base of military operations for the Allied forces (primarily the U.S., France, and Great Britain) during World War I. In 1922, four years after the war ended, the British finally granted Egypt independence, but with many conditions attached. For instance, Great Britain insisted that they be allowed to keep troops in the country, and they continued to wield tremendous power in Egypt's economy and government.

EDUCATION

It was in this political climate, after World War I, that Sadat grew up. In 1925 his father was transferred to Cairo, so the family moved to a small house on the fringes of the city. His family was not rich, and the huge city of Cairo was intimidating. Sadat later said that his days in the village of his early childhood provided him with the self-confidence he needed to excel in his new surroundings. "I can never lose my way because I know that I have living roots there, deep down in the soil of my village, in that land out of which I grew, like the trees and the plants," he wrote.

Sadat's first teacher was Sheik Abdul-Hamid, an Islamic priest who taught the youngster about the Islamic faith that his family followed. Profoundly influenced by Abdul-Hamid's teachings, Sadat developed a strong religious faith that he carried with him for the rest of his life. After his family moved to Cairo, Sadat's grandmother enrolled him in the Islamic Benevolent Society School, where he studied for a time. Sadat finished his primary education at Sultan Hussein School in the city of Heliopolis. In 1930, Sadat and his older

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brother enrolled in the Faud I Secondary School. The cost of putting both boys through school was high, and the family endured great hardship to give them an education. The situation changed, though, when Sadat's older brother decided that he did not wish to continue with his schooling. Sadat later admitted that "if my brother hadn't thrown away his education, my father would not have been able, on such a limited income, to keep us both in school. And he would most probably have stopped me from going in favor of my elder brother."

During his years in secondary school, Sadat found that he was one of the poorest students in the entire institution. Egypt's society had long been marked by deep economic and class divisions, and he was taking classes with students who came from very wealthy families. Sadat later said, though, that the situation "never made me jealous or spiteful. My classmates were, naturally, better dressed than I was, but I never suffered because of this. Many of my friends came from wealthy families and lived in luxurious houses, yet I cannot recall ever wishing to possess what they had. Indeed, I always felt proud of our house and cattle in the village . . . [and] the land to which I belonged — tough, permanent, and immutable, just like the values of village life, which are quite unknown to many city dwellers."

In 1936, when Sadat was 18, he graduated from the Faud I Secondary School with the equivalent of an American high school diploma. He then was admitted to the Abbassia Military Academy, which had recently begun accepting members of the lower and middle classes. One of his friends at the academy was Gamal Abdel Nasser, the future nationalist leader and first president of Egypt. After completing their studies at the academy in 1938, they both entered the military and were stationed in the garrison town of Mankabad.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

While Sadat was stationed in Mankabad, he, Nasser, and ten other officers formed a group that eventually became known as the Free Officers Committee. This secret group, composed of young men who opposed Great Britain's continued involvement in Egypt's affairs, was determined to initiate a revolution that would given Egypt complete independence.

Two years earlier, in 1936, Egypt and Great Britain had signed yet another agreement in which Egypt was given its independence. But as with earlier treaties, the British continued to hold significant power in the country, both politically and economically. When World War II began in 1939, Egypt declared itself neutral in the conflict. But when Germany tried to seize the Suez Canal in 1942, British troops flooded into the country in order to repulse them. The British forces stayed in Egypt for the remainder of the war, despite Egyptian protests.

This move infuriated many Egyptian nationalists (those who wanted completed independence for Egypt). In fact, some nationalists were so angry about the British presence in their country that they began to collaborate with the Germans. Sadat was one of these men. His secret activities included serving as a contact for two Nazi spies. The spies were eventually arrested, though, and they told their captors that Sadat had been one of their contacts. In October 1942, Sadat was arrested, court-martialed, dismissed from the military, and imprisoned for collaborating with the Nazis.

Imprisonment during War

Sadat spent the next two years in jail. He made good use of his time, learning English and German. Sadat missed his family, but he took comfort in the fact that the other members of the Free Officers Committee were providing them with financial assistance. As he later wrote, "all those who have fought for an ideal know that it is not the fear of death or torture that causes a man to weaken but the thought of what may happen to his wife and children who are weak and defenseless." In 1944 Sadat went on a hunger strike and was transferred to a prison hospital, where security was not as tight as it had been in jail. He quickly escaped from his captors and went underground, roaming Cairo in a variety of disguises and working as a laborer. His days as a fugitive ended when martial law was lifted after the war ended in 1945. "It was September 1945 when I could put an end to running and resume my normal life," said Sadat. "I went back to my home, after three years of homelessness and deprivation, wore my regular clothes, and once more assumed the normal image—plain and undisguised—that my family and friends had known."

The many months that Sadat had spent in jail and on the run had not eased his anger at British involvement in Egypt's affairs, however. As soon as he had his freedom, he joined forces with a group of Egyptians who favored violent action to push the British out of Egypt. In 1946 he helped plan the assassination of Egyptian Finance Minister Amin Osman Pasha, a British supporter. He was arrested for his role in the assassination and returned to prison once again.

Sadat was sent to Cairo Central Prison, where he was placed in solitary confinement. His cell, he recalled, "was completely bare—apart from a palm-fiber mat on the macadamized floor, hardly big enough for a man to sleep on, and an unbelievably dirty blanket. You simply can't imagine how filthy that thing was. In the winter water oozed from the cell walls day and night, and in the summer huge armies of bugs marched up and down. How bugs could live in that perpetually wet place I never knew, and it still puzzles me. I lived for a whole 18 months in that hole, unable to read or write or listen to the radio. I was denied everything, even a simple lamp." As the months passed, however,

Sadat came to terms with his isolation, and he later said that the period strengthened him as a person.

Sadat was still in prison when the nation of Israel was created. The area of modern Israel contains land, Palestine, that is sacred to three of the world's major religions—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Each group claims to be the rightful heirs to land that has been contested for centuries. In the 1920s, the conflict between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine had reached the point of armed conflict. Under the directive of the League of Nations, an international organization that was a precursor to the United Nations, England had been given the task of governing Palestine and trying to keep the peace among the warring factions. The situation worsened after World War II, when many Jews immigrated to the area. The world was shocked and outraged by the horrors of the Holocaust, the Nazis' systematic murder of some six million Jews. In 1947, the UN created the nation of Israel by dividing Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states. The UN decision to create a Jewish state gave people of the Jewish faith a country of their own. But Arab people in the Middle East felt that the land was rightfully theirs, and in 1948 they went to war with Israel to get it back. These Arab nations—Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan—were unsuccessful, though, and when the Israeli War of Independence ended Israel still held its land.

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Sadat did not take part in the war, because he was stuck in a prison cell. "God knows how I suffered at that time!" Sadat recalled. "But I was helpless and could do nothing about it." In mid-1948, after nearly two years of imprisonment, Sadat and the other people who had been arrested in the assassination of Amin Osman Pasha were finally brought to trial. The government's star witness fled the country, however, and Sadat was acquitted. He returned to the streets of Cairo as a free man late in 1948, but his time in Cairo Central Prison stayed with him for the rest of his life. He later referred to his imprisonment there as "the most terrible years of my life."

Egypt's New Government

After spending several months working as a newspaper reporter, Sadat was reinstated in the army in 1950, thanks to the efforts of influential friends. Stationed in the Sinai Desert town of Rafah, Sadat resumed his involvement with the underground Free Officers Committee, which was led by Gamel Nasser.

The British-supported Egyptian government was finally overthrown by the Free Officers Committee on July 22, 1952. Nasser summoned Sadat to Cairo the day before the revolt. Sadat waited impatiently for another signal, but as the hours passed he assumed that the revolt had been postponed and he took his wife to the movies. When they returned, a message from Nasser was waiting. Sadat rushed into the city, where the rebels had already wrested power from King Farouk, who had been the country's nominal ruler since 1936. Farouk's family had sat atop the Egyptian government for many years, but the coup replaced the monarchy with a military-ruled republic. Farouk fled into exile; he died in 1965. "The dream on which I had lived for years—a dream to which I devoted my entire life—had finally materialized," wrote Sadat. "It was now a reality surging in my heart, possessing my being and dwarfing it." Early the next morning Sadat announced the successful coup to the Egyptian people over the radio.

Sadat held a prominent place in the new government, which was headed by Nasser. He served in a number of roles in Nasser's administration over the years. Some of these positions gave him a high profile in Egypt, but few held any real power, and some people dismissed him as a man who would always be a mid-level official. But Sadat was also one of the few people that Nasser trusted, and as other people passed from the president's favor, Sadat remained in the government.

Relations between Egypt and Israel remained hostile throughout the 1950s and 1960s. During the early 1950s Egypt provided support to Palestinians who raided Israeli positions from the Gaza Strip, an area of Palestine then controlled by Egypt. The Israelis responded by attacking Gaza, so in retalia-

tion Egypt forbade Israel from using the Suez Canal. In October 1956 Israel launched an offensive in which they took control of most of the Sinai Peninsula, including the Suez Canal. British and French forces also took part in the invasion, for they wanted to gain control of the Canal for themselves. The invasion was heavily criticized in the international community, though. After the U.S. and the Soviet Union registered their disapproval, Israel, France, and Great Britain all withdrew their forces.

In June 1967, though, war erupted once again between Israel and its Arab neighbors. During this brief clash, known as the Six-Day War, Israel decimated the air forces of Egypt and other Arab countries. By the time the war ended, Israel had taken possession of several pieces of land previously held by Arab nations, including the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, and the West Bank. Israel also took control of the east bank of the Suez Canal, effectively closing it down. Stunned by the defeat, Nasser resigned, but the Egyptian people refused to accept his resignation, and he continued to lead the country.

In December 1969, Nasser reestablished the position of vice-president and named his old friend Sadat to the post. Supporters of Sadat would later point to this appointment as evidence that Nasser, who was in poor health by this time, wanted Sadat to succeed him as leader of Egypt. In September 1970, Nasser died and the National Assembly chose Sadat to become president.

Sadat as President

Some politicians in Egypt had supported Sadat's election to the presidency because they thought that he would be weak and indecisive and that they would be able to manipulate him. But Sadat surprised his foes and even some of his allies with his decisive actions during his first months as president. He curtailed the powers of the country's secret police, curbed Egypt's reliance on aid from the Soviet Union, and suspended state supervision of private property. All of these actions were very popular with the Egyptian people, and his political enemies soon realized that the new president was a formidable opponent. "I proceeded from the ideals I had always adopted, inspired by my love of Egypt and my desire to make the country a happy one. Never had I had a better chance of putting my principles into practice than when the people elected me President," he said.

In 1973 Sadat led a renewal of the Arab war against Israel. On October 6, Egyptian troops crossed the Suez Canal and attacked Israeli positions while the Syrians attacked from their border to the north. The Israelis promptly counter-attacked, pushing the Syrians back and encircling the Suez Canal. On October 22, a United Nations resolution calling for a cease fire was arranged, and both Israel and Egypt agreed to cease hostilities.

Over the next few years, the United States became heavily involved in trying to bring peace to the Middle East region. An agreement was subsequently reached between Israel and Egypt that allowed Sadat to re-open the Suez Canal shipping channel, which had been closed since the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

A Historic Peace

By the mid-1970s, Sadat became determined to put an end to the years of hostilities between Egypt and Israel. "If we look back through history we see the horrors brought upon Egypt by war—the martyrs, the destruction, the delays in development," wrote Sadat. "Egypt became a backward country because of the slogan 'war is supreme.' This is why I opted for peace." In 1977 he ignored the recommendations of his advisors and made a historic visit to Jerusalem, the heart of Israel. Many Arabs—including large numbers of Egyptians—were furious with Sadat's decision to go to Israel. They called the visit a betrayal of the Arab world. Sadat, though, remained unapologetic.

On November 20, 1977, Sadat made a speech before the Knesset, Israel's governing body. He continued to insist that Israel return Arab lands that they had occupied during the course of previous conflicts, and he called on the Israelis to recognize the rights of Palestinians. But his speech also included many calls for peace and reconciliation. "Any life that is lost in war is a human life, be it that of an Arab or an Israeli. A wife who becomes a widow is a human being entitled to a happy family life, whether she be an Arab or an Israeli. Innocent children who are deprived of the care and compassion of their parents are ours. They are ours, be they living on Arab or Israeli land," said Sadat. The Egyptian leader challenged the leaders of Israel to join him in his efforts to find a peace between the two countries: "Why don't we stand together with the courage of men and the boldness of heroes who dedicate themselves to a sublime aim? Why don't we stand together with the same courage and daring to erect a huge edifice of peace?"

Over the ensuing months, representatives of Egypt and Israel worked to reach a peace agreement between the two nations, but by January 1978 the negotiations had ground to a halt. The deadlock was finally broken in the fall of 1978, when Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and U.S. President Jimmy Carter met at Camp David, a presidential retreat located in Maryland. Over the course of the next two weeks, the two sides reached agreement on what was termed a "framework for peace." As part of the agreement, Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula, which it had held since the 1967 Six-Day War, to Egypt. For their efforts in the Camp David talks, Sadat and Begin were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The effort to reach a full-fledged peace agreement suffered occasional setbacks in the next few months, but on March 26, 1979, Sadat and Begin signed

Sadat with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin

a treaty ending 30 years of hostilities between Israel and Egypt. Years later, Carter praised the Egyptian leader as a man of great integrity. "I soon learned that, with Sadat, I did not have to examine the fine print of an agreement nor be concerned about possible loopholes that might some day work to his advantage at the expense of those with whom he dealt. He despised evasiveness in others, and had little patience with those leaders who were not bold enough to stand firm for principle when pressure was on them. Anwar Sadat was an unflinching champion of Palestinian rights, Arab unity, and peace in the Middle East."

Assassination

But many Arab leaders did not agree with this viewpoint. After the peace agreement was signed, 17 Arab nations passed economic and political sanctions against Egypt, and the country was removed from the Arab League, an international union of Arab nations. The people of Egypt, meanwhile, were divided in their views of Sadat's actions. Many Egyptians supported him, both for his peace-making role and his efforts to revitalize the country's economy. But others were very angry with him. Islamic fundamentalists were particularly upset with the compromises that Sadat had made with Israel. Members of

this movement, who called for rigid adherence to their view of Islamic teachings, fed the rumblings of unrest in Egyptian cities and towns at the beginning of the 1980s. Critics of Sadat became more outspoken, and the government jailed large numbers of dissidents, who were accused of plotting to overthrow the government. Other security measures were put in place as well, and Sadat told a television audience that "lack of discipline in any way or form" had been stopped.

In mid-1981 Sadat paid a visit to the United States and his friend Jimmy Carter, who had been defeated in 1980 in his bid for re-election to the U.S. presidency. Carter later commented that Sadat "made it clear that he was ready to relinquish the burdensome administrative duties of president and to devote his remaining years as a senior statesman to completing his life's work in a less demanding role. A few weeks later, he was dead."

On October 6, 1981, while reviewing a military parade celebrating the 1973 crossing of the Suez Canal, Sadat was assassinated by Islamic fundamentalists. Vice president Hosni Mubarak, who assumed the presidency, promptly had several hundred militants arrested. Twenty-four were eventually charged with taking part in the assassination, and five were executed. Many people around the world expressed their sadness upon hearing of the death of Sadat, who had taken great personal risk in his pursuit of peace with Israel. Carter later said that "when his tragic sacrifice was finally made I lost a beloved friend, and the world lost an irreplaceable champion of peace." Indeed, years after his death, Sadat is remembered as a great statesman and a pivotal figure in nourishing Arab and Israeli hopes that a lasting peace can eventually be found in the Middle East.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Sadat was married twice. He first married a woman from his village when he was a teenager. The marriage was arranged in accordance with village traditions. They had three daughters before Sadat initiated a divorce. His second marriage, in 1949, was to a 15-year-old girl named Jihan. Jihan's father was an Egyptian doctor and her mother was a British schoolteacher. Unlike Sadat, Jihan was not a devout Muslim, and throughout her life she involved herself in issues that were thought to be outside the realm of Muslim women. By the 1970s she had emerged as a leading feminist in the country, and she played an important role in passing laws that gave women and children greater rights in Egypt. Sadat and his second wife had three daughters and a son.

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Jonas Savimbi 1934-

Angolan Guerrilla Leader
Founder of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

BIRTH

Jonas Savimbi (sah-VIM-bee) was born on August 3, 1934, in Munhango, a small village located along Angola's Benguela Railway. His father, Loth Malheiro Savimbi, was a railroad employee who also spent much of his time working to establish several Protestant churches and schools in the area (in 1949 he retired from the railroad and took a position as director of a Protestant mission). Little is known about Savimbi's mother,

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although it is believed that she was—like her husband—a member of the Ovimbundu tribe, which comprised about 40 percent of Angola's population. Both of Savimbi's parents were Protestant as well, even though Catholicism was the territory's established religion.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, Portugal, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

At first, the growing European presence in Africa did not attract that much alarm. Coastal villages were used to trading with representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and other nations, and tribal leaders were likely to try and establish cordial relations with the Europeans in hopes of increasing their own wealth and influence. Most of the tribes were small, too, thus limiting their ability to halt the European advance into their lands. The multitude of African tribes also made it easier for the Europeans to infiltrate ever deeper into the continent, for differences in language and social customs hindered the sharing of information between the tribes. As a result, it was impossible for them to unite against the invading whites.

By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in the continent's industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, Portugal, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish political and economic control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting

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their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

ANGOLA

Angola, which is located in southwestern Africa, is approximately twice the size of Texas. It first came under the control of foreign powers back in the 16th century, when Portugal established a colony in Luanda (Angola's current capital). Within a few decades of their arrival, the Portuguese had taken control of the region, and during the early 1600s Angola became a major source of slave labor for Portugal's colony in Brazil.

In 1641 Dutch forces wrested control of Angola from Portugal, but their rule proved brief. In 1648 the Portuguese reclaimed the territory. They held it for the next three centuries, turning to agriculture when the nations that had bought slaves in previous years turned away from the practice. During the late 1920s Portuguese dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar assumed power in that nation, and he quickly turned his attention to Angola, which had been neglected over the years. Thousands of Portuguese citizens subsequently settled in the colony to start businesses. Repression of Angola's natives continued during this time, though. Native Angolans were discriminated against both socially and economically, and they chafed under the unfair laws and business arrangements that the Portuguese maintained in the colony. By the time World War II concluded in 1945, unrest was growing throughout Angola. The Portuguese government took minor measures designed to calm tensions in the colony, but these proved ineffectual, and by the 1950s many Angolans were calling for an end to Portuguese rule and creation of a new, independent government.

YOUTH

Savimbi grew up under the guidance of a father who was deeply bitter about the continued Portuguese occupation of his homeland. He was a bright, self-disciplined child, and his father encouraged him to make the most of his abili-

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ties and opportunities. Loth Savimbi also prodded his son to set high goals for himself, even if the presence of the Portuguese made such goals seem out of reach. Writer Fred Bridgland noted that "when Jonas said he wanted to be a steam locomotive driver, Loth said he must aim to be a doctor, impossible though that seemed for an African; he had, said Loth, to tell himself every day that he was going to achieve the impossible. Loth also told Jonas that he had to think of the Portuguese as oppressors and that he must never accept humiliation at their hands."

Loth knew that education was vital to his son's future, so he told Jonas to behave himself in the Portuguese-run schools. At times, Savimbi had trouble grappling with this conflict between maintaining good behavior and keeping his pride to himself when confronted with unfair circumstances. He recalled one instance in which a soccer game was arranged between several black children—including Savimbi—and a team of white children, including the son of an important Portuguese official. The Portuguese team supplied the referee as well, and shortly after the game got underway it was clear that the referee was making calls designed to help the white team. "[The referee] was cheating," Savimbi recalled. "When we scored he disallowed it. My father had bought me a football (soccer ball) and it was the only one at the mission—so we were using it for the match. When the referee cheated I told him he would need to get his own ball. I began walking away with the ball, and my own team shouted that I could not do it because the administrator's son was playing. I shouted back that the administrator should buy a ball for his son rather than think of arresting me. I carried on walking and the game had to be abandoned."

EDUCATION

As a youngster Savimbi attended several Protestant missionary schools, including one in the village of Dondi. He started going to school in Dondi in 1950, taking classes at a missionary school called the Currie Institute. The missionary teachers provided Savimbi with a full curriculum of courses, but he clashed with them over the many rules that they instituted. Smoking, drinking, and dancing were all forbidden, and while Savimbi did not particularly care about the bans on smoking and drinking, he repeatedly defied the ban on dancing. "I used to tell the other pupils openly that they should dance because there was nothing wrong with it and there was no good reason why it should be forbidden," he said. The missionaries finally suspended him from school during his last year of schooling for breaking the rules. They sent him home to his father, telling him that he would have to sit out for a year before returning to finish his studies.

Instead, Savimbi travelled to the city of Silva Porto, which housed a well-known school called the *Liceu*. The *Liceu* was a highly regarded institution, but it was expensive, and it had never before admitted a black person into its

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classrooms. The confident Savimbi nonetheless strolled up to the headmaster's home upon his arrival in the city and convinced him to give him an aptitude test. He passed the test easily, and the headmaster agreed to let him attend classes for free. For the rest of that year Savimbi lived in the headmaster's home, working in his kitchen and sleeping in the servants' quarters.

In 1956 the school closed because of monetary difficulties, and Savimbi was forced to move on once again. He completed his high school education at a Catholic school in Silva Porto in 1958. After graduating Savimbi received significant help from the school's headmaster, Father Armando Cordeiro. The headmaster arranged a scholarship for Savimbi, and in September 1958 the young man journeyed to Lisbon, Portugal, to study medicine.

During the trip to Lisbon, Savimbi became friends with a black sailor on board. They talked about politics and affairs in Africa during the trip, and after awhile the sailor gave Savimbi several books by black nationalist crusader Marcus Garvey, communist leader Karl Marx, and others. "After I had read them I was really burning to join a freedom movement," recalled Savimbi. "On the ship I already knew that my studies would be a secondary matter for me."

Savimbi's time in Lisbon proved turbulent, for he became involved in political activism almost immediately after his arrival. He joined fellow students from Angola in calling for Portugal to grant their country independence, and he became a vocal proponent of communist teachings. Faced with escalating harassment from the Portuguese secret police, in 1961 Savimbi fled to Switzerland, where he continued his studies. That same year protests erupted in Luanda as Angolan nationalists led by a relatively new group called the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) demanded freedom from Portuguese rule.

Savimbi followed events in his homeland with great interest, and during his time in Switzerland his coursework in medicine gave way to courses in history and political science. He graduated from the University of Lausanne with a political science degree in 1965.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Formation of UNITA

In 1962—while still attending school in Switzerland—Savimbi joined forces with another activist, Holden Roberto, in the creation of a new Angolan independence group called the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). Savimbi traveled widely on behalf of the group in an effort to enlist support for its cause, but his membership in the FNLA lasted only a few short

years. In July 1964 he left the organization, angry that the group's leadership—largely composed of people from Angola's Kongo region—did not seem interested in sharing power with members of the Ovimbundus and other non-Kongo tribes.

In March 1966 Savimbi founded the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a militant group that proved willing to use violence in its efforts to rid the country of Portuguese influence. Based in the southern end of the country, UNITA became dominated by members of Savimbi's Ovimbundus tribe. Although Savimbi had harshly criticized the FNLA for its reliance on one Angolan ethnic group, his organization soon assumed the same characteristics.

Within a year of UNITA's founding, Savimbi was arrested by authorities and exiled to Cairo, Egypt. He was warned not to return, but a year later he snuck back into his homeland and took command of UNITA once again. During the next several years, UNITA repeatedly struck against the Portuguese government in Angola. These offensives ranged from attacks on government soldiers to sabotage of state equipment and property. They also attacked the Benguela Railway on a number of occasions, and consolidated their strength in Angola's eastern and southern regions. Savimbi was an eloquent speaker, and his speeches—peppered with references to black power and communist-inspired property redistribution—were well-received by the country's poor population.

Meanwhile, the FNLA and the MPLA had carved out niches for themselves in the country as well. Their raids, coupled with those of UNITA, became a thorn in the side of Portuguese officials. Rivalries between the three groups, though, prevented any one of them from becoming dominant, and the authorities were able to fend off many of their efforts. Still, by the early 1970s growing numbers of people in Portugal were calling for an end to involvement in Angola.

Angolan Independence

On April 25, 1974, events in Portugal dramatically altered the situation in Angola. On that date, military officers overthrew the dictatorial government of Prime Minister Marcello Caetano. Within a year of taking over, the new leaders of Portugal announced their decision to grant independence to Angola. Arrangements were made to set up a temporary government in Angola that would rule until elections could be held. The new government featured representatives from all three major independence groups, but Savimbi and the other rebel leaders concentrated much of their energy on garnering support for the upcoming elections. Savimbi campaigned hard, abandoning some of his harsher nationalist rhetoric; he told Angolans that he would not seize private property, and he assured the vital Portuguese business community that they would be welcome in Angola if he was elected.

But the proposed elections fell apart before the votes could be cast. Isolated clashes between the three factions increased tensions in the country, and the situation was further complicated by interference from foreign governments, who gave millions of dollars in financial aid to those groups that seemed most likely to support their own political goals. Observers contend that Savimbi made repeated attempts to keep the planned elections on track. The FNLA and UNITA had united under Savimbi's command around this time, but violence between that group and the MPLA continued to spread. In addition, Portugal's quick departure from the scene left a huge void in the government, for the Angolans who took their place had no experience in governing. By the end of 1975 Angola had sunk into a bloody civil war that would endure for the next two decades.

In April 1976 the MPLA emerged as the official government of Angola, in part because of the military and economic support it received from the Soviet Union and Cuba. The MPLA established a government based on the political theories of Karl Marx. Savimbi and his UNITA organization did not give up, though, and the military leader came to be regarded in some quarters as a champion of democratic ideals. Over the next few years, UNITA repeatedly launched guerrilla raids against the Angolan government, and they maintained control over large regions of the country. The United States and other Western nations provided significant financial and military assistance to UNITA during this period, because they did not like the Angolan government's ties to the Soviet Union. This was during the "Cold War," a term commonly used to describe the military rivalry and political tensions between the United States and its Western European allies and the Soviet bloc of Communist nations. This rivalry existed for much of the second half of the 20th century, from the end of World War II until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. During the Cold War, both sides competed to establish their political philosophies and expand their spheres of influence in Africa and other regions of the world.

Throughout the latter part of the 1970s and the 1980s UNITA and MPLA battled for control of Angola. Many areas of the country repeatedly changed hands, and the Angolan people suffered terribly during this time. The civil war resulted in an estimated 350,000 deaths, and the country's economy was crippled by the constant violence.

1992 Elections

In the late 1980s it began to appear as though peace might finally come to Angola. In 1988 the two sides agreed to put an end to their reliance on foreign military aid and troops, and a year later UNITA and MPLA, which was now led by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, agreed to a cease-fire. In 1991 the two sides signed a peace treaty, and the MPLA legalized all political parties and formal-

ly renounced Marxism. Plans were made to merge the two competing armies into a single force, and arrangements were made to hold an election in late 1992 in which many different political parties could participate. It appeared that the long years of violence were finally coming to an end. But as events unfolded, it became clear that Angola's misery would continue.

The cease-fire agreement had included a stipulation that both armies disband most of their troops. Savimbi cheated, keeping a force of more than 30,000 soldiers hidden from the Angolan government and other observers. When the results of the September 1992 election were tabulated, dos Santos received 49.6 percent of the vote. Savimbi finished second, while a large number of candidates from other political parties each received a small percentage of votes. The rules of the election held that if no candidate received 50 percent or more of the vote, then the top two vote-getters would participate in a "run-off" election to determine Angola's new president. Savimbi had qualified for the run-off, but instead of preparing for a new round of campaigning, he retreated to a UNITA base and complained that the election had been rigged to favor dos Santos. International observers disagreed with Savimbi; they said that the election had been a fair one, and that the guerrilla leader had simply been ridiculously overconfident about his popularity. But Savimbi ignored their statements, and he subsequently used his hidden military forces to launch a wave of attacks against government positions.

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William V. S. Tubman 1895-1971

President of Liberia

BIRTH

William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman was born on November 29, 1895, in Harper City, Liberia, a country located midway up the Atlantic Coast of Africa, between Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. His parents—both of whom had come from families that had formerly been enslaved in America—were members in good standing of the small elite that had governed Liberia since its founding in 1847. His father, Alexander Tubman, was an ordained Methodist minister and a powerful politician who served for a time in the Liberian Senate. His mother, Elizabeth Rebecca Barnes Tubman, worked as a

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The Angolan government was taken by surprise by Savimbi's attacks, and UNITA initially gained a lot of new territory in 1993. But government troops slowly re-took the land that was lost and by 1994 UNITA was in retreat. The renewed fighting took a terrible toll on the Angolan population. Thomas L. Friedman commented in the *New York Times* that "between 1992 and 1994 the renewed conflict killed 1,000 Angolans a day. So many land mines were laid that mangos and bananas now ripen in the rich fields but no one dares walk out and pick them." Savimbi's decision to return to fighting also took a psychological toll on Angolans who had previously admired him. "This guerrilla philosopher, once one of Africa's brightest lights, has lost the respect of many in Angola, and around the world," said the *Los Angeles Times*. "It's too early to count Savimbi out of Angola's future. . . . But his dream of ruling Angola has surely died—and, along with it, his worldwide reputation as a defender of democracy."

Savimbi was widely blamed for the renewal of the war, but many observers noted that there was plenty of blame to go around. They pointed out that it takes many people to continue a war for the better part of 20 years, and noted that many of its participants seemed to be fighting out of habit more than any deeply held beliefs. As Friedman remarked, "[Angola's war] is, quite simply, the stupidest war in Africa—so stupid that most of the people caught up in it don't even know what it's about anymore."

In 1995, after UNITA suffered a series of military defeats, peace talks between the government and Savimbi began once again. A new agreement was reached in which UNITA would be given a voice in the government if it disarmed its troops. By late summer 1996 most of the rebel group's soldiers had demobilized and accepted housing in various United Nations camps around the country (the United Nations had installed peacekeeping troops in the country in hopes of nursing the peace talks along). Observers hope that the reunification of the two warring factions into a single, unified government works. They admit, though, that many uncertainties remain, including the role that Savimbi will play in the new government. Dos Santos is reluctant to put him in a position of real power, but Savimbi insists that he will not accept a ceremonial role. Despite the questions surrounding Savimbi, international negotiators remained hopeful that they will be able to help Angola establish a single, unified government sometime in 1997.

Even if the two Angolan factions prove able to work together in the new government, however, the challenges they face will be significant. As the *New York Times* noted, "stilling the guns will leave vast miseries to be addressed: a devastated landscape, roads and farmlands seeded with millions of land mines, legions of amputees and homeless street urchins, and rampant cholera and malnutrition." Those who have watched Angola's long and bitter civil war hope that Savimbi and the country's other leaders recognize that the nation desperately needs an end to the bloodshed of the past 20 years, which

some experts say has slain two million Angolans. As a spokesman for dos Santos said, "the mistrust is so intense. UNITA believes that the government wants to destroy them, and the government believes that UNITA will always have, between the lines, the intention of taking Luanda. But this is something we have to get past. If we don't make peace this time, Angola will look like the stage at the end of a Shakespeare play—everybody dead."

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Savimbi has been married two times. His first wife was Vinona Savimbi, whom he married in 1969. She and her husband had four children, but she died in 1984 when lightning set fire to the hut in which she was sleeping. A year later, in November 1985, Savimbi married his secretary, Anna Isobel Paulino. Little else is known about his personal life.

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ADDRESS

No current address is available for Jonas Savimbi.

Léopold Sédar Senghor 1906-

Poet, Essayist, and Former President of Senegal

BIRTH

Léopold Sédar Senghor (LAY-oh-pold SAY-dahr SEN-gor) was born on October 9, 1906, in Joal, a town on the Atlantic coast of what is now Senegal in West Africa. The name Sédar, which was given to him by his mother, means "one who needs not be ashamed before anyone." Senghor's father, Basile Diogoye Senghor, initially earned his living as a hunter, but after sustaining an injury he became a successful peanut trader, acting as a middleman between farmers of the interior and French exporters on the coast. His mother, Nyilane Bakhoume Senghor, was Basile's

fourth and youngest wife. Senghor was one of the youngest of the over 20 children that his father had with his various wives. The Senghor family belonged to the Mandingo tribe of the Serer ethnic group. Senegal is a mostly Muslim country, but Senghor's mother came from a Roman Catholic background, and she raised her children as Catholics.

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

During the 19th century several powerful European countries became heavily involved in Africa, which over the previous few centuries had become known as a continent rich in minerals and exotic goods. At first European involvement in African affairs was largely limited to trade, as powerful companies hailing from Great Britain, France, and Belgium established trading centers all along Africa's coast. By the late 19th century, however, circumstances had changed, as growing numbers of white Europeans moved further into Africa's interior. Some of these people were Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the continent's many tribal groups to Christianity. They were joined by traders, engineers, laborers and other workers employed by European companies determined to harvest the continent's natural resources and raw materials. This influx of foreigners accelerated after Europe's most powerful nations got together and parceled out various sections of Africa among themselves.

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By the early 20th century, the Europeans, who possessed much greater military power than Africa's tribal groups, had established themselves throughout much of Africa. The push to harvest the continent's raw materials had spurred a tremendous growth in its industrial infrastructure, as European governments rushed to establish colonies to operate and support the railroads, mining operations, shipping harbors, factories, and plantations that were sprouting up all across Africa. During this time, Britain, France, and Belgium used the colonies to formally establish control over the continent.

Colonialism fundamentally transformed the vast continent of Africa. The colonial rulers regarded most aspects of African life as inferior to those of

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Europe. As a result, they tried to change the Africans' way of life, substituting their own social customs, languages, and religious beliefs for the ones that the African natives had been practicing for generations. The Europeans also erected governments and legal systems that ensured that they would maintain political and economic power over the Africans. They took Africa's land and natural resources for themselves, accumulating great wealth in the process, but they shared little of this wealth with Africans. Instead, Africans were herded into the colonies' most difficult and lowest-paying jobs. Colonialism did improve the lives of Africans in some respects. Diseases that had previously decimated tribes were controlled with the help of European medical knowledge, and millions of African boys and girls were taught how to read and write in Christian missionary schools. But most Africans regarded colonialism as a humiliating arrangement that denied them basic freedoms and cast them as second-class citizens.

SENEGALESE HISTORY

Between 600 and 900 years ago, a number of black African kingdoms developed in the region now known as Senegal. These empires—the Toucouleur Empire in the north, the Serer and Wolof Empires in the central part of the region—ruled their lands for hundreds of years, but European traders established a number of trading posts along the Senegalese coastline in the 17th century. By the 1800s France had emerged as the primary European power on the coast, and as the years went by the French marched deeper and deeper inland, conquering several African kingdoms as they went. In 1882 France decided to make Senegal an official French colony, and 13 years later they incorporated the region into a larger territory called French West Africa. By the mid-1900s, though, many Senegalese were tired of being ruled by Europeans. They argued that Senegal should be able to decide its future without interference from France.

YOUTH

During the first years of his life Senghor lived with his mother in the small Serer village of Djilor, while his father traveled frequently. Most of the inhabitants of Djilor were illiterate farmers, herders, and traders. As a young boy, Senghor particularly enjoyed spending time with the local shepherds and listening to their stories. In fact, he strayed into the fields so often that his father decided that he needed to take drastic action. "My father often whipped me in the evening, scolding me for always wandering off," Senghor recalled. "Finally, to punish me and 'discipline' me, he sent me off to the white man's school, to the great despair of my mother, who protested that at seven I was too young."

EDUCATION

Senghor thus began his education in 1913 at a school run by missionaries (people who wanted to educate Africans and convert them to Christianity) in Joal. The following year he was sent to a Catholic boarding school in Ngazobil, a few miles north of Joal, run by missionaries from the Father of the Holy Spirit. Since Senegal, along with much of the rest of West Africa, was then a colony of France, Senghor's early education was designed to help him appreciate and become a part of French culture. This policy was known as "assimilation," and it was intended to prevent young Africans from rebelling against French rule. As Senghor remarked later, the French wanted "bread for all, culture for all, liberty for all; but this liberty, this culture, and this bread will be French." At the boarding school, Senghor began to excel academically. He showed little interest in the games played by other children, choosing instead to read books or take long, solitary walks. It was during one of these long walks that Senghor decided to become a Roman Catholic priest.

In 1923, when he was 17, Senghor was one of only three black students admitted to the Libermann Seminary in Dakar. Although he again proved to be a top student, his dream of becoming a priest ended there. The school's director, Father Lalouse, resented the African students and referred to them as "savages." A heated conflict developed between Father Lalouse and Senghor, which eventually caused the Father to declare that Senghor was not cut out for priesthood. Senghor was devastated by this decision and spent several months in isolation.

After overcoming his disappointment, Senghor returned to Dakar to attend a French lycée, or college-preparatory school, similar to a U.S. high school. There he became the only black student in a class made up of the children of French businessmen and government officials. Senghor again was an outstanding student, and he received an academic prize in every subject when he graduated from the preparatory school in 1928. His performance—which proved that an African boy from the bush could not only equal but surpass the academic abilities of French students—made him a legend in Senegal.

Senghor's remarkable ability came to the attention of Aristide Prat, the French administrator of the school. Prat threatened to resign his post unless the government gave Senghor a scholarship to study in France. Some African students had received scholarships before this time, but all were in practical fields such as agriculture and veterinary medicine. Senghor was the first African student to receive a scholarship to study literature. Before he could accept the scholarship and leave for France, however, Senghor had to gain the support of his family. His father was opposed to the idea, since he viewed education as simply a means to compete with other merchants, but in the tribal tradition he called a meeting of the family to discuss the matter before making a final decision. Senghor's Aunt Helene, who had once been

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denied the opportunity to study in France, finally convinced his father to let him study abroad. The only condition was that Helene and her husband pay Senghor's living expenses.

In 1929 Senghor moved to Paris, where he attended a university called the Lycée Louis-le-Grand. At first, Paris seemed like a dream come true. For years he had studied French culture, read French literature, and immersed himself in French thought, and Paris represented all that he had learned. While there, however, he met black students from the United States, the West Indies, Europe, and Africa. Through his contact with these students, Senghor began to develop his own ideas about race and culture. He reached the conclusion that his native African heritage and culture was just as valuable and important as his adopted French culture, and he decided that West Africans should absorb the best aspects of French culture without losing touch with their African roots.

In 1931 Senghor graduated from Lycée Louis-le-Grand and enrolled at the Sorbonne campus of the University of Paris. While there he began to write poetry, and as always he excelled academically. He also helped found a student newspaper, known as *L'Etudiant noir* (*The Black Student*), and an organization for promoting African culture, the Association of West African Students. Some of the people he met as a student at the Sorbonne included writers Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, and future president of France Georges Pompidou. In 1935 Senghor became the first West African student to receive the equivalent of a doctoral degree in French grammar. After graduating he took a job teaching at a school in Tours, a city in central France, thus becoming the first black to teach in a French school. During this time he also became more active socially and politically as a spokesman for French West Africans. In a series of public speeches, he insisted that African culture was in some ways superior to Western culture and more appropriate for African development.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

When World War II broke out in 1939, Senghor was drafted into the French army. His unit was defending a bridge near Paris when it was captured by the Germans. At one point the Germans separated the black soldiers from the rest of the unit and lined them up against a wall, apparently to execute them by firing squad. They were saved when a French officer intervened on their behalf. For the next two years Senghor was held in a series of German prisoner of war camps. He continued to write poetry and develop his theories about African culture while in captivity. He also helped organize an underground resistance network in the camps, for which he received the Franco-Allied Medal of Recognition after the war.

Literary and Political Careers

In 1942 Senghor's friends in Paris managed to arrange his release from the prison camps. For the rest of the war he taught in French schools, wrote poetry, and developed his political philosophy. In 1945 he published his first collection of poems, *Chants d'ombre* (*Shadow Songs*), which focused on his feelings of divided loyalty towards France and Africa. The book received glowing reviews and helped establish Senghor as a prominent spokesman for West African interests.

He expanded his literary reputation in 1948 with the publication of a book of essays, *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malagache de langue française* (*Anthology of the New Black and Malagasy Poetry*). This book included essays by a number of important writers about the philosophy of race and culture that Senghor had come to embrace, which was known as *négritude*. To Senghor, *négritude* encompassed "the sum total of the values of the civilization of the African world." Through their writings, he and his literary friends emphasized the unique contributions that African culture could make toward a universal civilization. Senghor was recognized as a major literary voice as he published more books, and in 1962 he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

As his literary career took off in the late 1940s, Senghor also launched his political career, voicing support for Socialist ideas and concepts. (Socialists believe that an economic system based on collective or government ownership of property and businesses is preferable to one that is based on private ownership.) After returning to Senegal to continue his studies of African culture and language, he agreed to run for the French Constituent Assembly—an organization made up of representatives of France's colonies. Senghor won the election and returned to France, where his status as an intellectual and French grammarian earned him a position on the committee that was creating a new constitution for France. In 1946 he was elected to the French National Assembly as a representative of Senegal, and he served in that capacity for 10 years.

By the late 1940s Senghor had begun working for African independence from French control, and in 1948 Senghor broke away from the Socialists to form his own political party, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais. With this party and another he helped form 10 years later, the Parti du Regroupment Africain, Senghor began to work for the independence of French colonies in West Africa. Joining with activists from other French colonies that sought independence, Senghor tried to form a federation of African nations that would have an equal and cooperative relationship with France. He favored a federation over several separate independent nations because he knew that, in the past, newly independent African nations had often experienced violent power struggles and unstable economies. Despite his work to secure the independence of West Africa, Senghor continued to command great respect in France. He was even appointed Secretary of State in the French cabinet.

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President of Senegal

In 1959 Senegal and a neighboring territory called French Sudan (now Mali) formed a union known as the Mali Federation and together declared their independence from France. The two members of the union disagreed on a number of important issues, however, and the federation dissolved within a year. But the days of European colonialism in Africa, in which European powers controlled distant lands, were coming to an end. In 1960 France finally granted Senegal independent status. Senghor—who by then was the most prominent political figure in the country—became its first president. Senegal, which had achieved independence through peaceful determination, was admitted into the United Nations shortly after.

As Senghor had predicted, Senegal faced many difficult problems as an independent nation. "The colonizing powers did not prepare us for independence," he admitted. During the first two years of its existence, Senegal's government consisted of the president, a prime minister, and a national assembly. Senghor and the prime minister, an old friend of his named Mamadou Dia, soon disagreed about how best to develop the nation's economy without further financial assistance from France. Senghor wanted to preserve the historical ties with France and allow the majority Muslim population to play a role in government, while Dia argued that Senegal should break all ties with France and limit the influence of Muslims. When they were unable to reach a compromise, Dia staged a coup in 1962 and attempted to overthrow Senghor. The Senegalese military chose to support President Senghor, however, and the coup attempt was defeated peacefully. Dia was sentenced to life in prison but served only 12 years before being released. Senegal had survived its first crisis as an independent nation without resorting to violence.

After surviving the first challenge to his authority, Senghor reorganized the government with the support of the national assembly. He combined the offices of president and prime minister and changed the presidency from a seven-year term to a five-year term. He also declared his party, the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise, to be the only legal political party in the country. These steps gave Senghor complete control of the government, which he felt was necessary to restore order, but also left him open to criticism from abroad. Leaders of foreign countries worried that Senghor might become a dictator and use his power to exploit the country for his own gain.

Despite further coup attempts and an assassination attempt over the next few years, Senghor never resorted to the repressive tactics used in many other newly independent African nations. Though he placed restrictions on certain political activities, he also ensured that every citizen had basic legal rights. He won over some of his opponents by providing them with jobs and loans. He once described his philosophy of government as "the art of using a method which, by approximations that are constantly corrected, would permit the greatest number to lead a more complete and happy life."

While Senghor was busy trying to stabilize Senegal's government, the nation's economy was suffering. The country depended on peanut exports for much of its revenue, which left the economy vulnerable to droughts and changing markets. Droughts caused widespread famine in Senegal twice during the 1970s. In these periods of crisis, Senghor was criticized for focusing more on the nation's cultural life than its economic welfare. To help solve some of the basic economic problems, Senghor enlisted the help of a young technocrat, Abdou Diouf. Diouf encouraged farmers to begin growing other food crops besides peanuts. He also began to promote fishing, phosphate mining, and tourism to improve the nation's economy. With Diouf concentrating on the nation's economic problems, Senghor was able to focus on political issues again. In 1976 he proposed new changes to the Senegalese government that loosened some of the restrictions he had imposed before. For example, he allowed two more legal political parties and brought back the position of prime minister, to which he appointed Abdou Diouf.

The legalization of political opposition parties seemed to breathe new life into Senegal. Newspapers began to address Senegal's problems and openly criticize Senghor. Despite the criticism he faced, Senghor continued to support this swing toward democracy and a free press. Even those who opposed him gave him credit for his support of democratic principles. In the 1978 election, Senghor's party won over 80 percent of the votes.

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Retirement

Over the next two years, Senghor gradually gave more and more of his responsibilities to Diouf, his prime minister. As he reached his mid-70s, Senghor no longer felt able to tackle the job of rebuilding Senegal's economy. He recognized that the country's future would lie in the hands of a younger generation of leaders. On December 31, 1980, Senghor became the first modern African leader to voluntarily transfer his power to another when he resigned the office of president and turned the office over to Diouf. Many people worldwide praised Senghor's wisdom and foresight in ensuring a peaceful political transition. Senghor's contribution to his country's political stability was recognized the following year, when the human rights monitoring organization Amnesty International cited Senegal as having one of the best human rights records in the world.

During his 20-year reign as Senegal's first president, Senghor helped transform the nation into one of the most stable and democratic countries in Africa. Thanks to his success in guiding Senegal during the early years of its independence, Senghor is regarded as a man of intelligence and foresight, and other African leaders have sought his counsel in dealing with problems in their own countries. After his retirement from political life, Senghor returned to writing, adding to his reputation as one of the leading poets and intellectuals in the world. In honor of his accomplishments in both literature and politics, Senghor was admitted to the prestigious, 40-member Académie Francaise in 1984.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Senghor has been married twice. His first marriage, in 1946, was to Ginette Eboue, the daughter of the governor of Chad and the sister of two men Senghor spent time with in the German war camps. They had two sons together, Francis and Guy, before they were divorced in 1956. Later that year, Senghor married a Frenchwoman, Colette Hubert, with whom he had another son, Philippe. Today only one of Senghor's sons, Francis, is alive; Guy committed suicide and Philippe died in an auto accident. Senghor spends most of his time in the tiny Normandy village of Verson in France, where he relocated after he stepped down as president of Senegal. On the occasion of his 90th birthday in 1996, celebrations were held in his honor in both France and Senegal.

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Christian missionary, though she spent much of her time caring for her family. William Tubman also had five brothers and sisters.

HISTORY OF LIBERIA

Historians believe that the ancestors of today's native Liberian population first arrived in the region sometime between the 12th and 15th centuries from neighboring kingdoms in Sudan. The population of the region increased dramatically in the 19th century, though, as controversy over the practice of slavery in the United States spilled across the Atlantic and onto its shores.

By the early 19th century, many white people in the U.S. felt that the practice of slavery was morally wrong. Northern states subsequently passed laws forbidding slavery, and even in Southern states, some slave owners freed their slaves, either in appreciation for their long service or out of a belief that slavery was wrong. As the number of free black people increased, some American whites argued that they should live elsewhere. Slave owners insisted that the presence of free blacks would make their slaves desire freedom, too, while other whites simply did not want to live with blacks. As a result, in 1816 a group of white Americans organized the American Colonization Society (ACS) to return free blacks to Africa. They bought land in present-day Liberia—although it was called Monrovia at that time—and began transporting groups of blacks over the sea to the continent of their ancestors.

Life was very hard for these first groups of settlers. They were unfamiliar with the region, so they struggled for a time with their crops. Others were killed by disease or by hostile natives, who feared that these new people would take their lands. As the years passed, though, settlements in Monrovia and elsewhere along the coastline and inland became entrenched, and continuing emigration from the U.S. helped keep the communities alive (a total of 11,000-15,000 settlers ultimately emigrated from the U.S.). In 1838, these small communities joined together in an alliance called the Commonwealth of Liberia. Within 10 years the settlers severed their ties with the ACS, and on July 26, 1847, Liberia became an independent nation, with a constitution and government structure that were closely modeled after those of the United States.

As the next several decades passed, however, a two-class system developed in the country. Liberians whose families had been among the first settlers from America emerged as the economic and intellectual leaders of the nation, and they settled together in communities along the coast. "Americo-Liberians" (Liberians whose ancestors had been slaves in America) made up only a small percentage of the overall population, but they shaped the laws and rules of the society so that they could preserve their leadership over the numerous tribes that were native to the region. Liberian natives whose families had lived in the region for centuries thus found it difficult to attain positions of wealth or status in the country.

YOUTH

Tubman grew up in circumstances that were much easier than those of many other Liberian children his age. His wealthy parents took great interest in his upbringing, and they made sure that he received a good education. Alexander Tubman's careers as a politician and a minister no doubt had a tremendous impact on young William, for as the boy grew older he set out on a career path designed to ensure that he could follow in his father's footsteps. But while he admired his father, Tubman was particularly close to his mother, an unassuming, kindly woman.

EDUCATION

Tubman attended high school at Cape Palmas Seminary, a school operated by the Methodist Church. He then took courses at Cuttington College and Divinity School before studying law under the tutelage of two Liberian attorneys. Since law schools did not exist in Liberia at the time, apprenticeship programs such as the ones that Tubman took with the attorneys were the only way to qualify to practice law.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Tubman became a lawyer in 1917, at the age of 22, following a few years of service in the Liberian military. He took on several additional jobs during the next few years in addition to his law practice; he taught school for a brief time, and he served as a tax collector as well. But young Tubman became best known for the legal help he provided to poor people. "He was even dubbed 'the poor man's lawyer,' as he defended many poor litigants and offenders free of charge," noted Tuan Wreh in *The Love of Liberty*. The friendly and intelligent Tubman soon came to be regarded as an ideal political candidate. The ambitious young man quickly took advantage of his good reputation. When a vacancy opened in the Liberian Senate in 1923, he ran to fill the position as a member of the True Whig party. The True Whig Party, which was dominated by "Americo-Liberians," had long been the most powerful political party in the country. Tubman was elected to the open seat later that year, thus becoming the youngest Senator in Liberian history.

Success and Scandal

After completing his first six-year term in 1929, Tubman was easily re-elected to a second term. He also became the chief legal advisor to Vice President Allen Yancy, a position that gave him even greater influence. A year later, though, Liberians were shocked to learn that a League of Nations commission had discovered that the Liberian government had been selling some of its citizens into slavery to cocoa planters. The commission contended that

Yancy and President Charles King, both of whom were descendants of American slaves, had been key participants in the slave-trading. King resigned from office in disgrace, while Yancy was stripped of his position and put on trial for his actions. Tubman—who was never implicated in any wrongdoing—resigned his Senate seat to serve as Yancy's attorney during his trial. This decision was widely interpreted as a gesture of loyalty on Tubman's part, and it apparently did not damage his image with the public. The former vice president was eventually found guilty of extortion.

Tubman then tried to return to the Senate, but True Whig party officials were nervous about the impact of the scandal. Even though Tubman had not been involved in the slave scandal, his involvement in Yancy's defense convinced them to support another candidate for the seat. It was not until 1934, then, that Tubman was able to win back his Senate seat.

In 1937 Tubman was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Liberian Supreme Court, and he served on the Court for the next six years. In 1943, though, President Edwin Barclay retired from office because the Liberian Constitution limited presidential terms. Tubman decided that the time was right to run for the presidency himself. On May 4, 1943, Tubman was elected president of Liberia as the nominee of the True Whig party. A short time later Barclay and President-elect Tubman received an invitation from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to visit the United States. The two Liberian leaders became the first black guests ever to spend a night in the White House.

President of Liberia

Tubman proved to be an energetic leader for Liberia. He sided with the United States, Great Britain, and the other Allied powers in their battle against Germany, Japan, and Italy in World War II. The United States subsequently made arrangements with the Liberian government to use their country as a base for aerial operations in the war. After the conclusion of the war, Liberia remained closely allied with the United States. From the end of World War II until 1989, a "Cold War" existed between the communist-led Soviet Union and its allies and the democratic United States and its Western European allies. Both sides were competing to establish their political philosophies and expand their spheres of influence in Africa and other regions of the world. Determined to retain Liberia as an ally during the Cold War, America provided financial aid to the struggling country. Tubman reciprocated by making Liberia a staunch foe of communism.

Tubman did not ignore domestic concerns, however. Soon after assuming the presidency, he launched a series of much-needed economic and social reforms. In 1944 he launched a Unification Policy that was designed to give the poor, dispossessed citizens of Liberia's inland areas a greater voice in their

New York Mayor Robert Wagner (left) and Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack (right) presenting Tubman with the city's Medal of Honor in 1954

country. "Much good was achieved from this policy," admitted Wreh, a notable critic of Tubman's rule. Tubman remained content to let the ultimate power in the country continue to rest with the Americo-Liberians, but he recognized that greater national unity would not happen unless changes were made to narrow the gap between the ruling class and the nation's poor. Tubman's new laws not only gave the vote to women and rural Liberians, they also triggered new social programs that provided them with better educational and economic opportunities.

Indeed, Liberia's economy was transformed during Tubman's presidency. He opened Liberia's borders to foreign investment to an unprecedented degree in the nation's history. The president's decision to provide tax and tariff exemptions to foreign firms triggered a wave of investment in the country's important rubber, iron, and agricultural industries, and Liberia enjoyed swift technological and economic growth as a result.

Tubman's presidency was controversial in some ways, too, however. He repeatedly changed the nation's Constitution, which placed limitations on the amount of time that one person could be president, so that he could continue to rule the country. This hold on power made him a sometimes-dictatorial ruler, and many critics of his administration remarked that it became dangerous to oppose him. Some Tubman critics even charged that his famed "open-

door" economic policies helped foreign business owners more than Liberian workers. Observers also noted that although Tubman's policies addressed some of the problems faced by poor Liberians, many of his countrymen remained trapped in poverty while Tubman and his top advisors lived in luxury.

In 1967, shortly after winning his seventh straight presidential election, Tubman noticed that he was having difficulty seeing out of one eye. The blindness grew steadily worse over the next few years, even after he underwent surgery for the condition in December 1970. Less than a year later, while on vacation in Europe, Tubman admitted himself into a hospital in London, England. He subsequently underwent a prostate operation. Complications in his condition developed soon after the surgery was completed, and on the afternoon of July 23, 1971, Tubman died of a hemorrhage.

News of his death shocked the people of Liberia and political leaders worldwide. A Liberian newspaper lamented that "today we mourn the passing of our Standard-Bearer and President; too many words though not enough, have already been uttered; but none can assuage our grief; too many adjectives have been employed to measure the scale of his greatness but never enough: yes, the dimensions of his greatness, his achievements, his footprints are larger than life." Representatives of the U.S. government expressed sadness at losing one of their staunchest allies as well. "Liberia stands today as a living monument to his labors," said U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey. "He died a statesman, a great president, and a beloved human being. The world mourns his absence and praises his achievements which stand stalwart against the tide of time."

Tubman was succeeded by his vice president, William R. Tolbert, Jr. Liberia's economy staggered in the 1970s as international prices for its primary exports plummeted, and in 1980 a group of military officers from the country's poor tribes killed Tolbert and assumed control of the nation. Samuel K. Doe became president, but his rule was a harsh one, marred by rigged elections and the murder of political opponents. By 1990 the country had fallen into civil war and Doe was executed by government opponents. Violence continued to sweep across the country for the next several years, as various transitional governments proved unable to fend off various rebel groups that sought to seize leadership of the country for themselves. The future of Liberia and its people thus remains a very uncertain one.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Tubman married three times. His first wife was Araminta Dent, whom he married in May 1917. After more than a dozen years, the childless marriage ended in divorce, as both Tubman and his wife accused the other of adultery. In November 1938 (some sources indicate 1935) Tubman married Martha

Pratt. The marriage ended without any children in 1944, when she died. In September 1948 Tubman married Antoinette Padmore, a relative of former President Barclay; they had one daughter, Wilhelmina. Tubman also had a number of children with other women during his marriages (the exact number will probably never be known). Notable other women in his life included Jocelia Crenshaw, with whom he had two sons, William Eli and John H.; Lati Wright, mother of his daughter Elizabeth; and Laura Tucker, who bore him another son, Samuel. He also had at least two other daughters—Rebecca and Fatu—but their mother's identity is unknown.

HOBBIES AND OTHER INTERESTS

Tubman was known for his enjoyment of dancing and socializing. He also liked to sing, and he performed in barber-shop quartets in his younger days.

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8	Hawking, Stephen W.	1942
9	Menchu, Rigoberta	1959
	Nixon, Richard	1913
12	Limbaugh, Rush	1951
15	Werbach, Adam	1973
16	Fossey, Dian	1932
17	Carrey, Jim	1962
	Cormier, Robert	1925
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18	Messier, Mark	1961
19	Askins, Renee	1959
	Johnson, John	1918
21	Domingo, Placido	1941
	Olajuwon, Hakeem	1963
22	Chavis, Benjamin	1948
23	Thiessen, Tiffani-Amber	1974
25	Alley, Kirstie	1955
28	Gretzky, Wayne	1961
29	Abbey, Edward	1927
	Gilbert, Sara	1975
	Winfrey, Oprah	1954
31	Ryan, Nolan	1947

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3	Nixon, Joan Lowery	1927
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4	Parks, Rosa	1913
5	Aaron, Hank	1934
6	Leakey, Mary	1913
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7	Brooks, Garth	1962
8	Grisham, John	1955
10	Norman, Greg	1955
11	Brandy	1979
12	Blume, Judy	1938
15	Groening, Matt	1954
17	Anderson, Marian	1897
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	Jordan, Michael	1963
18	Morrison, Toni	1931
20	Adams, Ansel	1902
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	Cobain, Kurt	1967
	Crawford, Cindy	1966
21	Carpenter, Mary Chapin	1958
	Jordan, Barbara	1936
	Mugabe, Robert	1924
24	Jobs, Steven	1955
	Whitestone, Heather	1973
25	Voigt, Cynthia	1942
27	Clinton, Chelsea	1980
28	Andretti, Mario	1940
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2	Gorbachev, Mikhail	1931
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3	Hooper, Geoff	1979
	Joyner-Kersee, Jackie	1962
	MacLachlan, Patricia	1938
5	Margulis, Lynn	1938
10	Guy, Jasmine	1964
	Miller, Shannon	1977
12	Hamilton, Virginia	1936
13	Van Meter, Vicki	1982
15	Ginsburg, Ruth Bader	1933
16	O'Neal, Shaquille	1972
17	Nureyev, Rudolf	1938
18	Blair, Bonnie	1964
	de Klerk, F.W.	1936
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20	Lee, Spike	1957
22	Shatner, William	1931

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26	O'Connor, Sandra Day	1930
27	Carey, Mariah	1970
28	James, Cheryl	
	McEntire, Reba	1955
30	Hammer	1933
31	Chavez, Cesar	1927
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2	Carvey, Dana	1955
3	Garth, Jennie	1972
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4	Angelou, Maya	1928
5	Powell, Colin	1937
6	Watson, James D.	1928
7	Dougals, Marjory Stoneman	1890
12	Cleary, Beverly	1916
	Doherty, Shannen	1971
	Letterman, David	1947
13	Brandis, Jonathan	1976
14	Rose, Pete	1941
16	Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem	1947
	Selena	1971
	Williams, Garth	1912
17	Champagne, Larry III	1985
18	Hart, Melissa Joan	1976
22	Levi-Montalcini, Rita	1909
	Oppenheimer, J. Robert	1904
25	Fitzgerald, Ella	1917
26	Pei, I.M.	1917
28	Baker, James	1930
	Duncan, Lois	1934
	Hussein, Saddam	1937
	Kaunda, Kenneth	1924
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29	Agassi, Andre	1970
	Seinfeld, Jerry	1954

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2	Spock, Benjamin	1903
7	Land, Edwin	1909
9	Bergen, Candice	1946
10	Jamison, Judith	1944
11	Farrakhan, Louis	1933
13	Rodman, Dennis	1961
14	Smith, Emmitt	1969
15	Johns, Jasper	1930
	Zindel, Paul	1936
17	Paulsen, Gary	1939
18	John Paul II	1920
21	Robinson, Mary	1944
23	Bardeen, John	1908
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26	Ride, Sally	1951
27	Carson, Rachel	1907
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4	Kistler, Darci	1964
5	Scarry, Richard	1919
6	Rylant, Cynthia	1954
7	Oleynik, Larisa	1981
8	Bush, Barbara	1925
	Edelman, Marian Wright	1939
	Wayans, Keenen Ivory	1958
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10	Sendak, Maurice	1928
11	Cousteau, Jacques	1910
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12	Bush, George	1924
13	Allen, Tim	1953
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14	Bourke-White, Margaret	1904
	Graf, Steffi	1969
15	Horner, Jack	1946
16	McClintock, Barbara	1902
17	Gingrich, Newt	1943
	Jansen, Dan	1965
18	Morris, Nathan	1971
	Van Allsburg, Chris	1949
19	Abdul, Paula	1962
	Aung San Suu Kyi	1945
20	Goodman, John	1952
21	Bhutto, Benazir	1953
	Breathed, Berke	1957
22	Bradley, Ed	1941
23	Rudolph, Wilma	1940
	Thomas, Clarence	1948
25	Carle, Eric	1929
	Gibbs, Lois	1951
26	LeMond, Greg	1961
27	Babbitt, Bruce	1938
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2	Marshall, Thurgood	1908
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5	Watterson, Bill	1958
7	Chagall, Marc	1887
9	Hanks, Tom	1956
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10	Ashe, Arthur	1943
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11	Cisneros, Henry	1947
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12	Cosby, Bill	1937
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13	Stewart, Patrick	1940
15	Aristide, Jean-Bertrand	1953
16	Sanders, Barry	1968
18	Mandela, Nelson	1918
20	Hillary, Sir Edmund	1919
21	Reno, Janet	1938
	Williams, Robin	1952
22	Calder, Alexander	1898
	Dole, Bob	1923
	Hinton, S.E.	1948
23	Haile Selassie	1892
24	Krone, Julie	1963
	Wilson, Mara	1987
26	Berenstain, Jan	1923
28	Davis, Jim	1945
29	Burns, Ken	1953
	Dole, Elizabeth Hanford	1936
	Jennings, Peter	1938
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30	Hill, Anita	1956
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31	Reid Banks, Lynne	1929

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1	Brown, Ron	1941
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	Garcia, Jerry	1942
2	Baldwin, James	1924
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3	Roper, Dee Dee	
	Savimbi, Jonas	1934
5	Ewing, Patrick	1962
6	Robinson, David	1965
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7	Duchovny, David	1960
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9	Anderson, Gillian	1968
	Houston, Whitney	1963
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11	Haley, Alex	1921
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12	Martin, Ann M.	1955
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13	Battle, Kathleen	1948
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14	Berry, Halle	1967?
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15	Ellerbee, Linda	1944
18	Murie, Margaret	1902
19	Clinton, Bill	1946
	Soren, Tabitha	1967
20	Chung, Connie	1946
22	Schwarzkopf, H. Norman	1934
23	Novello, Antonia	1944
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24	Arafat, Yasir	1929
	Ripken, Cal, Jr.	1960
26	Burke, Christopher	1965
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28	Dove, Rita	1952
	Evans, Janet	1971
	Peterson, Roger Tory	1908
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30	Earle, Sylvia	1935
31	Perlman, Itzhak	1945

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5	Guisewite, Cathy	1950
7	Lawrence, Jacob	1917
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	Pippig, Uta	1965
8	Prelutsky, Jack	1940
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13	Johnson, Michael	1967
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15	Marino, Dan	1961
16	Dahl, Roald	1916
17	Burger, Warren	1907
18	de Mille, Agnes	1905
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21	Fielder, Cecil	1963
	King, Stephen	1947
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23	Nevelson, Louise	1899
24	Ochoa, Severo	1905
25	Locklear, Heather	1961
	Lopez, Charlotte	1976
	Pippen, Scottie	1965
	Reeve, Christopher	1952
	Smith, Will	1968
	Walters, Barbara	1931
26	Mandela, Winnie	1934
	Stockman, Shawn	1972
27	Handford, Martin	1956
29	Berenstain, Stan	1923
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2	Leibovitz, Annie	1949
3	Herriot, James	1916
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5	Hill, Grant	1972
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7	Ma, Yo-Yo	1955
8	Jackson, Jesse	1941
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9	Bryan, Zachery Ty	1981
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10	Saro-Wiwa, Ken	1941
11	Perry, Luke	1964?
	Young, Steve	1961
12	Childress, Alice	1920?
	Ward, Charlie	1970
13	Kerrigan, Nancy	1969
	Rice, Jerry	1962
14	Daniel, Beth	1956
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15	Iacocca, Lee A.	1924
17	Jemison, Mae	1956
18	Foreman, Dave	1946
	Marsalis, Wynton	1961
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20	Kenyatta, Jomo	1891?
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21	Gillespie, Dizzy	1956
23	Pelé	1940
26	Clinton, Hillary Rodham	1947
27	Anderson, Terry	1947
28	Gates, Bill	1955
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29	Ryder, Winona	1971
31	Candy, John	1950
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3	Arnold, Roseanne	1952
8	Mittermeier, Russell A.	1949
9	Denton, Sandi	
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11	Vonnegut, Kurt	1922
12	Andrews, Ned	1980
	Harding, Tonya	1970
13	Goldberg, Whoopi	1949
14	Boutros-Ghali, Boutros	1922
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16	Baiul, Oksana	1977
17	Fuentes, Daisy	1966
18	Mankiller, Wilma	1945
19	Strug, Kerri	1977
21	Aikman, Troy	1966
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24	Ndeti, Cosmas	1971
25	Grant, Amy	1960
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26	Pine, Elizabeth Michele	1975
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29	L'Engle, Madeleine	1918
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16	McCary, Michael	1971
18	Sanchez Vicario, Arantxa	1971
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22	Pinkney, Jerry	1939
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27	Roberts, Cokie	1943
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Cher
Kevin Costner
Courtney Cox
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Jamie Lee Curtis
Patti D'Arbanville Quinn
Geena Davis
Ozzie Davis
Ruby Dee
Michael De Lorenzo
Matt Dillon
Michael Douglas
Larry Fishburne
Harrison Ford
Jody Foster
Morgan Freeman
Richard Gere
Tracey Gold
Graham Greene
Mark Harmon
Michael Keaton
Val Kilmer
Angela Lansbury
Joey Lawrence
Martin Lawrence
Christopher Lloyd
Kellie Martin
Marlee Matlin
Bette Midler
Alyssa Milano
Demi Moore
Rick Moranis
Tamera Mowry
Tia Mowry
Kate Mulgrew
Eddie Murphy
Liam Neeson
Leonard Nimoy
Rosie O'Donnell
Sean Penn
Phylicia Rashad
Keanu Reeves
Jason James Richter
Julia Roberts
Bob Saget
Arnold Schwarzenegger
Alicia Silverstone
Christian Slater
Taran Noah Smith
Jimmy Smits
Wesley Snipes
Sylvester Stallone
John Travolta
Mario Van Peebles
Damon Wayans
Bruce Willis
B.D. Wong
Malik Yoba

Artists
Mitsumasa Anno
Graeme Base
Maya Ying Lin
Yoko Ono

Astronauts
Neil Armstrong

Authors
Jean M. Auel
Gwendolyn Brooks
John Christopher
Arthur C. Clarke
John Colville
Paula Danziger
Paula Fox
Patricia Reilly Gibb
Jamie Gilson
Rosa Guy
Nat Hentoff
Norma Klein
E.L. Konigsburg
Lois Lowry
Stephen Manes
Norma Fox Mazer
Anne McCaffrey
Gloria D. Miklowitz
Marsha Norman
Robert O'Brien
Francine Pascal
Daniel Pinkwater
Ann Rice
Louis Sachar
John Saul
Shel Silverstein
Amy Tan
Alice Walker
Jane Yolen
Roger Zelazny

Business
Minoru Arakawa
Michael Eisner
David Geffen
Wayne Huizenga
Donna Karan
Phil Knight
Estee Lauder
Sheri Poe
Anita Roddick
Donald Trump
Ted Turner
Lillian Vernon

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Lynda Barry
Roz Chast
Greg Evans
Nicole Hollander
Art Spiegelman
Garry Trudeau

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Billy Crystal
Steve Martin
Eddie Murphy
Bill Murray

Dancers
Debbie Allen
Mikhail Baryshnikov
Gregory Hines
Twyla Tharp
Tommy Tune

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Woody Allen
Steven Bocho
Tim Burton
Francis Ford Coppola
Ron Howard
John Hughes
George Lucas
Penny Marshall
Leonard Nimoy
Rob Reiner
John Singleton
Quentin Tarantino

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Kathryn Fuller
Linda Maraniss
Ingrid Newkirk
Pat Potter

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Tom Brokaw
John Hockenberry
Ted Koppel
Jim Lehrer
Dan Rather
Nina Totenberg
Mike Wallace
Bob Woodward

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Babyface
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George Benson
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Clint Black
Ruben Blades
Mary J. Blige
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Alanis Morissette
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Pam Tillis
TLC
Randy Travis
Terence Trent d'Arby
Travis Tritt
U2
Eddie Vedder
Stevie Wonder
Trisha Yearwood
Dwight Yoakum
Neil Young

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Madeleine Albright
Harry A. Blackmun
Jesse Brown
Pat Buchanan
Mangosuthu Buthelezi
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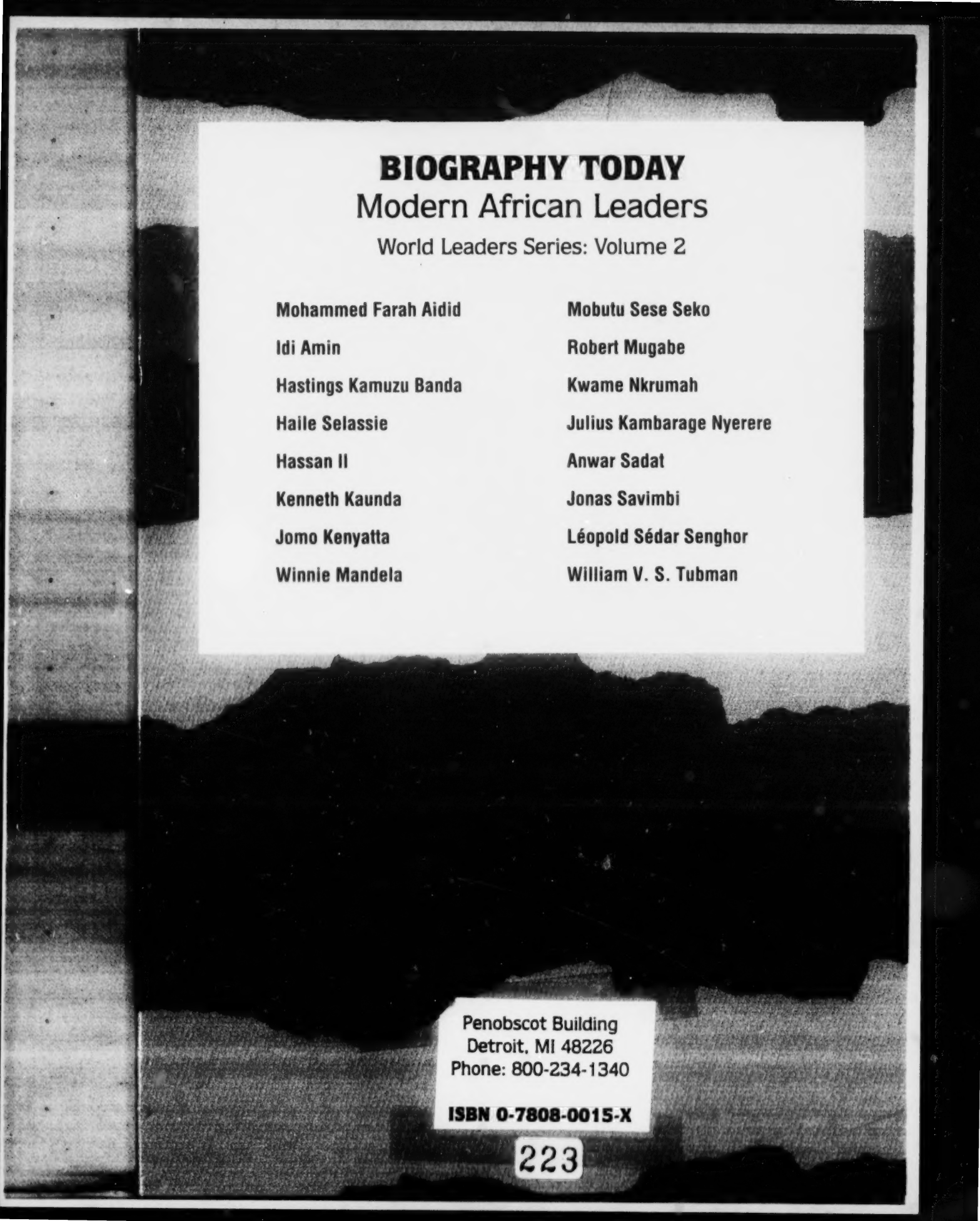

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